

MAR. 10, 1947

New Republic



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(ANSWER BELOW)



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THE ANSWER

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New Republic

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Letter of the Week

Report from Manila

William J. Pomeroy, who cables the following communication, is a Rochester (N. Y.) newspaperman who spent most of the war years in the Philippines and is now engaged in writing a study of the new Philippine republic.

SIR: In the crowded market-places of Manila and in rural communities from Davao to Aparri, the issue of the day is the controversial parity bill, which will go before the Philippine nation on March 11. It is the major issue confronting the young republic and the first to test the leadership of the administration headed by President Manuel Roxas, elected last April with strong American support. Introduced in the Philippine Congress on September 15, 1946, under the joint sponsorship of both houses, it is strongly favored by the Roxas administration, and is designed to open the doors to a tremendous influx of American capital, which could then exploit the natural resources and the economic life of the islands on an equal basis with home capital. Because it contradicts a section of the Philippine Constitution of 1935, stating that native capital must control at least 60 percent of all enterprises in the islands, the proposal must be submitted to a national plebiscite in the form of a constitutional amendment.

The parity bill would complement the Bell bill, which was passed in the American Congress before the islands became independent on July 4, 1946, and which grants Americans preferential trading and investing rights in the Philippines for a period of 28 years. The parity, or equal-rights, bill goes even further, however, in defining the extent of freedom to be granted to American capital. It includes the disposition, exploitation, development and utilization of every resource in the islands and the operation of all forms of business enterprise.

Because of the colossal losses suffered during the war, and the helplessness

(Continued on page 46)

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News in Focus

Eastern Journey

Peace

SECRETARY of State George Catlett Marshall was going to Moscow this week with more than Germany on his mind (see page 13). Events had moved quickly—Greece, Palestine, the Pacific, China—that the German peace treaty had become but one corner of the over-all picture of Soviet-American relations. No longer was there merely a German peace treaty to be negotiated.

US-USSR peace settlement was the paramount issue beneath the tensions once again building up in the press of both nations.

Britain's decision that she could no longer carry the responsibility for keeping Greece in the Western orbit had opened a crack in the Anglo-American diplomatic partnership. Already the White House and the State Department, through carefully staged briefing of correspondents, were preparing public opinion and an economy-minded Congress for the US to take over the job, at least economically, lest "the Soviet sphere of influence reach the Mediterranean."

It had been a hard-and-fast policy of former Secretary of State Byrnes to prevent the latter. Byrnes had indignantly rejected the idea of Russian trusteeship over Libya. He had fought for the internationalization of Trieste to prevent its going to Yugoslavia. Now there was talk of spending \$350 million to keep Greece oriented toward the West.

No one knew exactly what kind of regime in Greece the State Department had in mind worthy of its support and capable of accomplishing something more constructive than the futile governments of the past year. The only clue had been furnished by Secretary of State Marshall himself. On February 16, he

issued a clear warning to the present Greek government to reform itself, and suggested: "a dynamic program of amnesty coupled with the disarming of illegal bands, just as rigorous tax reforms, modernization of the civil service, realistic finance reforms and the even-handed dispensation of justice."

The Greek situation might also strengthen the hand of those who still wanted to keep a strong Germany as a bulwark against Russia in the north. Revision of Polish boundaries was included in this attitude. But that scheme was complicated last week by Russia's sudden acceptance of the American request for sole trusteeship of captured Pacific islands. The Russian note picked up the very argument that the US Navy had been using, namely that the islands were won at great cost of American lives and that therefore it was eminently fair that we should have them.

The Soviet announcement instantly raised the question of whether Moscow would expect a *quid pro quo* for the territory the Russians had won, also at great cost of life, in Poland and the Baltic states. Conservative American opinion held that the analogy was not sound. It was likely that Secretary Marshall would feel the same, but the disarming Russian statement had obviously put him in an awkward position. Should the Western powers press their desires in Greece and Poland, Moscow was quite capable of throwing the words "aggressive and expanding" back in their faces.

Palestine raised another tortuous question. If the British were unable to support their position in Greece, would the day come soon when we would be faced with the job of taking over Palestine, too? Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin annoyed a great many people in the US with his accusation that Presi-

dent Truman's demand, during the election campaign last fall, for the entry of 100,000 Jews into the Holy Land upset the Jewish-Arab appletart. It was possible that Bevin might have reached some kind of tentative agreement with the Arabs, but there was nothing to show that an agreement with the Jews had been anywhere in sight. Bevin's speech was represented by some as that of a petulant, harassed man, shifting the blame for failure. It might not be so simple as that. The British had long wanted the US to share responsibility for Palestine. In the light of British weakness in Greece, it was quite possible that Bevin hoped to force our hand in Palestine as well.

The diplomatic partnership between the US and Britain had been the basis of the running postwar debate with Russia. As the US share of that partnership grew heavier, US responsibilities before the world were also waxing. Last week Herbert Hoover, back from a 6,000-mile trip through Europe, reported that \$475 million would be needed in Germany alone during the next 18 months to prevent starvation. Preserving the peace in One World would be a crushing task; even more oppressive were the extra demands of balancing a globe which had been sliced in two.

Icicle

Moscow

THE news that John Foster Dulles would be among those present in the United States delegation to the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers was a jagged icicle dropping amid frosty gusts of Soviet comment against his proposals for a Western European federation. The day that the Dulles announcement broke, Marshal Vassily Sokolov-

sky, who executes Soviet policy in Berlin, made the frankest Russian statement thus far on Allied relations in Germany.

Sokolovsky completely rejected the Anglo-American idea that, by simple arithmetic, economic unification of Germany's western zones is the logical step toward unification of Germany as a whole. The Soviet Marshal put special emphasis on the separation of the Ruhr from the rest of Germany. Since the Dulles plan is dependent upon the Ruhr's industrial potential, it is evident that the Foreign Ministers' meeting will be much more than a mere discussion of clauses for a German peace treaty.

The Russians take Dulles' ideas very seriously. Now that these have been augmented by the Hoover program for feeding Germany and proposals for putting a moratorium on reparations, the Russians are wondering whether American policy derives from the Potsdam Declaration or from the Dulles Declaration to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

No one in Moscow will be surprised if the conference turns out to be an extremely long haul. Even if the ministers themselves go home at the end of two months, it is likely that their deputies may continue to sit in Moscow for another three months thereafter. Despite considerable elucidation on specific points of difference, Moscow's official position is still that set forth by Molotov at the Paris meeting last July: for a strong central German government; for a concrete plan of reparations; including deliveries of current German production, and for four-power control of the German economy.

Sokolovsky emphasized that the Soviet Union had received no satisfaction on any of these points. But his discourse was noticeably temperate, and in some respects seemed to be a fervent appeal for coöperation in Germany before it is too late. The Moscow Conference will decide whether that is indeed possible.

Only a few days before the conference opening, the exact arrangements for press coverage are still vague. Russia has increased the American quota from 20 correspondents to 36; it seems certain France and Britain will both protest being kept at the old quota of 20

each. Incoming correspondents are receiving Foreign Office assurance that conference copy will not be censored. There may be some difference of opinion, however, on what stories constitute conference copy, and visitors no doubt will have to readjust themselves to some degree. Significantly, for several days in a row last week not a word of the dispatches filed from the Moscow Bureau of the Associated Press was eliminated.

Prices & Profits

Business

UNITED STATES wholesale prices hit another new postwar high. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that during the week ending February 22 they were 34.4 percent above the same week last year.

Simultaneously, newspaper financial pages continued to record the whopping profits boosted by the end of price control. The Monsanto Chemical Company last week reported the biggest profit in its 45-year history—\$10 million, a 100-percent hike over 1945. Industrial giants in major producing fields had been reporting similarly lush earnings in rubber (Goodyear, \$36 million, up 140 percent); in oil (Atlantic Refining, \$9.6 million, up 800 percent); and in steel (US Steel, \$88.6 million, up 50 percent).

"Indeed in some instances," observed C. Norman Stabler, the New York *Herald Tribune's* financial editor, "there is a feeling that last year's profits were too large and that the large percentage increases in [earnings] . . . may lend support to the trend of thought such as was contained in the Nathan report [that industry's huge profits could absorb wage boosts]."

Penny-wise

Budget

SENATE Republicans would not say what would be cut or how much, but they pushed through an over-all \$4.5 billion reduction in the President's proposed 1947-48 budget. Since the House had previously agreed upon a \$6 billion slash, conferees were expected to set the final figure at around \$5 billion

—still without telling Congress or the country how the operation would be performed.

The expedient secrecy reminded Senator Brian McMahon (D, Conn.) of a story: Once upon a time a great Shah went out on his balcony to address the people. "Do you know what I am about to say?" he asked. "No, no, Shah. Tell us," they chorused. But the Shah replied, "I cannot speak to so ignorant people." Next day, when the multitude had again assembled, the Shah asked the question again. "Yes, yes, sire," answered the wiser crowd. "Then if you know it, it is of no use for me to tell you," said the Shah. The third day the crowd appointed a spokesman. In reply to the Shah's question he explained: "Half of us know, and half do not." "In that event," retorted the Shah, "those who know tell those who don't."

"We have not been told," complained Senator McMahon last week. He remarked that Senator Millikin (C, Colo.), the author of the amendment for the \$4.5 billion cut, had admitted that he "honestly didn't know" how it would be done; that Senator Taft (R, Ohio) could only make an "intelligent guess" on what the cut should be; that Senator Vandenberg (R, Mich.) had described the proceedings as a "gigantic speculation."

But the Republicans deigned to drop a few hints. Senator Bridges (R, N. H.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, blustered: "I'll tell you where the cuts will come. They'll come in every single department, right down the line." The Army and Navy surmised that this would mean about a \$2.25 billion cut in their military and civilian establishments. Western Senators suspected it would hit their favorite dam and reclamation projects. Social service like subsidized school lunches, the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau and the Rural Electrification Administration would probably be curtailed. Government department heads, under congressional warnings of dire consequences, refused to talk. But a \$5 billion reduction would undoubtedly mean a 25 to 33-percent slash in the expenditures of most federal departments.

What did that add up to? The Department of Interior, a typical agency



IS THERE A DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

had been allotted \$314,281,220 in the President's budget. This was \$36,212,716 more than current appropriations—the kind of increase that Congress was shooting at. But the Department collects about \$85 million a year for admissions to national parks, for water rights, for grazing. Almost half of what it spends—about \$159 million this year—goes for the construction of dams and other self-liquidating public works. Thus about four-fifths of its appropriation sooner or later comes back to the Treasury. During the next fiscal year it had also planned these important expenditures:

☛ Bureau of Reclamation—\$145,702,200, an increase of \$29,712,957 over 1946-47. Most of it is budgeted for the conservation of land and water resources in 17 Western states and for irrigation and hydroelectric projects.

☛ Bureau of Indian Affairs—\$45,081,520, an increase of \$1,621,441. About 50 percent will be spent for health and education of 350,000 Indians in the US

and 32,000 Eskimos. Even so, thousands of Indian children will not be in school.

☛ Bonneville Power Administration—\$20,278,000, an increase of \$7,808,000. Without spending more money for power lines, the Northwest's dams would be forced to sell power in limited areas only. In 1948, the profit-making BPA will take in about \$23,575,000 against its \$20,278,000 appropriation.

☛ The National Park Service—\$14,555,500, a decrease of \$11,462,455. Most of the decrease is the result of canceling road building and other physical improvements. Congress will have to decide whether it wants more or fewer national parks open more or fewer months of the year.

The knife which slashed "right down the line" among appropriations like these would nick the heart of necessary government services. The surgeons on Capitol Hill, who had so glibly diagnosed the national economy, understandably shied at the thought of being the first to execute their so-called remedy.

Classical Withdrawal

Reciprocal Trade

HARRY TRUMAN's relentless retreat from the New Deal had been sometimes sporadic, often disorganized, always reluctant. Last week the President began another classic withdrawal. In making his concession on the Reciprocal Trade Program, Truman explained again that he had not lost faith; he was only extending bipartisanship to another area of foreign policy.

The Administration had commenced other rear-guard actions with equally brave words. In January, 1946, Harry Truman had pledged himself to hold the line on prices. A month later he had bulged the line for Big Steel. In July the President had vetoed a bill to weaken price control. A month later he signed another version. In September he positively refused to remove controls from meat. A month later he canceled meat ceilings. By November the line on prices was flapping free.

The strategy of compromise had not

been brilliantly successful in the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program or the Army-Navy merger. In a spirit of conciliation, Harry Truman had also pared \$5 billion from his budget proposals. The reward had been a drive on Capitol Hill to double the cut in appropriations. But last week the President was once more mapping out an "orderly retreat."

The trade treaties fathered by Cordell Hull were under strong attack in Congress. Senators Butler and Wherry (R, Nebr.) and other high-tariff Republicans had introduced some 15 bills for the treaties' abandonment or modification. There was pressure, too, for the US to abandon the 19-country world-trade conference in Geneva on April 10, where the removal of trade barriers would be the principal topic on the agenda.

The high-tariff advocates in Congress admittedly did not have the votes to pass knockout legislation over a presidential veto. But they could cause enough trouble to wreck the forthcoming conference. A resolution had been proposed to investigate all US trade treaties. If it passed, the ensuing controversies would cast serious doubt on the ability of the US to negotiate any new pacts.

Senators Vandenberg (R, Mich.) and Millikin (R, Colo.), who fear the treaty-wrecking intentions of their colleagues, got together with Undersecretaries of State Clayton and Acheson to work out some concessions that might hold the Republicans at bay. The President did not accept the entire Vandenberg-Millikin appeasement plan, but he made the following important concessions:

❶ If, as a result of any treaty, an article is imported in such increased quantities "as to cause or threaten serious injury" to any domestic producer of a similar article, the US shall be free to withdraw. This is called an "escape clause."

❷ The bipartisan, conservative US Tariff Commission may hold hearings to determine if imports under the treaties injure or threaten to injure any domestic producers. Previously, hearings were conducted by the Interdepart-

Haircut

WAYNE CALIMAN, a student at Williams College, strolled into the campus barbershop for a haircut. The barber looked at him and said it would cost \$3, a boost of \$2 over the usual price. Caliman walked out. Other students picketed the shop. "Why," their placards demanded, "was a Negro student asked \$3 here?" Four days later, Merderic Bleau was fined \$50 under an 1855 Massachusetts law forbidding discrimination "except for good cause." Bleau denied the charge, appealed the case and contended he asked the higher price because Caliman's hair was "unusually thick."

mental Committee on Trade Agreements, a body made up of administration officials.

❸ The commission may recommend treaty changes to the President.

If the President turned down "recommendations" for raising tariffs, the present system might not be materially altered, but Vandenberg interpreted the President's order as merely "highly useful progress in a desirable direction." The next step might be to demand publicity and hearings before any agreements are made at Geneva. This would be an escape before there is anything to escape from. Such delay would shake the confidence of other countries. Nevertheless, the President was insisting that the concessions were not deviations from the traditional Cordell Hull policies.

Tool Owners

EARLY in 1945, Allen W. Rucker, business consultant and advertising man of Lexington, Massachusetts, thought up a slick new way to outsmart organized labor: a Tool Owners' Union "for national action to safeguard the foundation of national strength and well-being." He took full-page ads in Lexington, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago newspapers to invite "50 million thrifty Americans" to join his propaganda crusade. The "tools" were in the hands of the property owners, small businessmen and in-

vestors whom he hoped to attract. Rucker promised them "a new way to get action for 'today's forgotten men' in strikes, shortages and inflation." He began to operate under an easily obtained Delaware charter.

The CIO and AFL objected: The Tool Owners was not a union; its name was misleading; it was, in fact, anti-union.

Last week, the New York Department of Labor sternly turned down the Tool Owners' application to do business in that state. It noted that final authority over all the organization's actions and policies was limited to the founders—Rucker, his business partner, Fred H. Nickels, and Mrs. Rucker. "We have just finished a great war started by a man who had his own ideas as to what was wrong . . .," the Board of Standards and Appeals ruled. "This man, too, worked out a system which left ultimately to himself the last decision in all matters. . . . No more fascistic organization with all the potentiality for undemocratic action and danger to our way of life has yet come before the official attention of the Board."

Slow Freight

Transportation
ANATIONWIDE shortage of freight cars had become a major US bottleneck.

US Steel reported huge stocks of steel piled up in Pittsburgh and Youngstown storage yards. Since last June soft-coal mines had lost \$70 million worth of production. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association reported the shutdown of seven Canadian paper mills. Western grain-storage elevators were full to the ceiling. A washing-machine company in Syracuse halted construction of 900 washers a day; a chemical plant in the same city reduced its output from 80 to 12 carloads a day. The car shortage was blamed in all cases.

While worn-out cars were being discarded at a monthly rate of 5,500, February production had hovered around a weak 3,000 cars—500 below the previous month. The average daily shortage was more than 20,000 cars; it was increasing by 100 a day.

Everyone shifted the responsibility. Colonel J. M. Johnson, Office of Defense Transportation Director, was caustic in his criticism of John D. Small, former Civilian Production Administrator, who had refused to use his power to allocate large amounts of steel to car building. The steel companies said they would have been willing to supply the steel, but the car builders had not ordered it. The car builders explained that they could not order steel until they had orders for cars. The railroads said the Interstate Commerce Commission should have granted the recent freight-rate increases sooner so that they could have afforded more cars. And the ODT's Johnson was a member of the ICC.

A program that might partially solve the shortage was getting under way this week. Senator Reed (R, Kans.), worried about the grain states, had persuaded the railroads, car builders and steel companies to accept a production schedule of 10,000 cars a month. When that rate would be reached was anybody's guess. But it would be several weeks before there was any noticeable increase in car building. It would be well over a month before new cars began to cancel out discards. And it would be years before the present supply of 1.75 million freight cars even approached the 2.3 million total on the tracks way back in 1918.

Recess

New York

THE discontent and despair among teachers across the US erupted last week in Buffalo. Twenty-four hundred local school teachers walked out of their classrooms, closing down 98 schools in the nation's fourteenth city and giving 72,000 youngsters an unexpected holiday.

The issues involved were not greatly different from those in hundreds of other US cities and towns. The teachers desperately sought more money; Buffalo didn't have any to give them. The Buffalo teachers, two-thirds of whom belonged to the independent Buffalo Teachers' Association, said high living costs were eating up all their savings and forcing them into debt. They were still earning exactly what they had made

in the depression year of 1932 (\$34 to \$57 a week). They wanted a salary range of from \$48 to \$80 a week. Mayor Bernard Dowd contended the city was powerless to help unless Governor Thomas E. Dewey would allow Buffalo to raise its real-estate tax.

Scrupulously avoiding all references to "striking," the teachers had given the city a month's notice of their intention to "absent" themselves. The first day, teachers manning "observation posts" (instead of picketing) at 18 still open school gates, huddled in a 50-mile-an-hour blizzard while boys and girls brought them hot coffee. Inside, the 20 percent of the teachers who continued on the job tried to cope with exuberant youngsters who insisted upon writing "scab" on the blackboards. When union truck drivers refused to deliver food and coal, the Board of Education the next day ordered all the schools closed.

In Albany, Governor Dewey suddenly released a two-month-old report of a

legislative committee, proposing a salary scale of \$2,000 to \$5,125 a year for all New York State teachers. Reversing himself, Mayor Dowd offered pay increases averaging \$525 a year, about half what the teachers had wanted. On Sunday, March 2, they voted to accept Dowd's offer and go back to their classrooms.

Thickening Plot

Press

ARGENTINA's hush-hush invitation to Werner Heisenberg, noted German scientist, remained shrouded last week in a confusion of conflicting press accounts. The Peron government's attempt to proselytize Heisenberg for a secret atomic-energy project was first reported in the *New Republic* of February 24.

The Associated Press was still knocking down the story. It had published an exclusive interview with Heisenberg in which the German Nobel Prize-



winner innocently maintained that his invitation to Argentina had been merely to lecture at the University of Buenos Aires. Last week the AP correspondent in Buenos Aires followed up with a dispatch that "reports published abroad" of an atomic-research program in Argentina were "absurd." The origin of the AP's information was identified, somewhat nebulously, as "government and Allied diplomatic sources." The dispatch did not mention why Heisenberg had been invited to Buenos Aires.

The United Press sent its Argentine correspondent on the trail of Professor Guido Beck, the former Czechoslovakian scientist and onetime associate of Heisenberg, who arrived in Argentina after Pearl Harbor. Beck denied any personal connection with Argentine atomic developments, but implied that such a program might be under way. "It is completely untrue that my work is connected with atomic-energy problems or government projects in this respect," was the odd way Beck phrased his denial to the UP. He did not deny having communicated with the German atomic expert.

The New York Times, meanwhile, received a cable from its correspondent in Herford, Germany, which bluntly referred to Heisenberg's "offer from President Juan D. Peron to work in Argentina." The Times reported that "a British scientific subcommission" had told Heisenberg that "he would be unable to travel because of transport difficulties and currency restrictions." Earlier, the United Press had quoted "a British spokesman" in Berlin who said that Heisenberg would "leave soon for Argentina."

Lecture Tour

State Department

A NEW YORK lecture agent named Clark H. Getts is peeved at the US State Department. So is Yugoslav Ambassador Sava N. Kosanovich. Richard C. Patterson Jr., the handsome US Ambassador to Belgrade, is annoyed with Getts and put out with the State Department, too. The State Department admits it is sore at Getts, and a bit dismayed with itself.

The upshot of this bizarre circuit of

Idea

THE idea came to the sales manager of the Bristol Shoe Manufacturing Company of Providence, Rhode Island, as he lay awake in a Pullman sleeper. He told company president, Maurice C. Smith Jr., all about it. Last week Smith hired the Reverend Dale D. Dutton away from a wealthy Baptist Church to make him Bristol Shoe's vice-president of Christian relations. The job: "To do good as he is led to do it." The budget: \$100,000 a year. The inspiration: "His instructions will come not from the company but from God. . . . We don't expect to sell any more shoes because of our venture."

ill feeling will probably be the forthcoming resignation of Patterson, to be announced with appropriate regrets, as the official United States representative to the Tito government. Thereby hangs this tale:

Patterson arrived home last autumn on leave from his Belgrade post. He was promptly telephoned by his old friend Getts. A persuasive chap, Getts induced Patterson to sign up for a series of paid lectures around the country to give the people a blunt "inside story" of the Tito regime. The fee was to be a cool \$500 per talk, but Patterson said he would pledge his share to charity.

A division head at the State Department had given Patterson and Getts a go-ahead for the tour. Suddenly, new huddles were held. The question went up to Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, who blackballed the whole business. But Getts started the telephone lines from New York to the Capital burning. Chamber of Commerce officials in one Oklahoma town warned the State Department that if Patterson's scheduled appearance there was canceled, local newsmen would expose the "iron curtain on freedom of expression in America."

The State Department wavered. It decided to permit the Ambassador to proceed with his talks, provided they were "off-the-record." Patterson, despite his diplomatic responsibilities, traveled up and down the land excoriating the Yugoslav government to large and eager audiences. Working with local sponsoring organizations, Getts succeeded in

keeping the speeches "off-the-record"—which really meant out of the local newspapers. The system worked handsomely until Patterson arrived in St. Louis.

There, reporters for the *Post-Dispatch* indignantly refused to be bound by any gag rule. "But I just don't want what I say to be printed anywhere," the Ambassador complained. "I might be withdrawn as Ambassador if it were, or at any rate, things would be made difficult for me." When the *Post-Dispatch* remained unmoved, Patterson was forced to lecture "on-the-record" for the first time during the tour. Even so, the diplomat castigated the Tito regime as "ruthless" and "dictatorial." Its curiosity kindled, the *Post-Dispatch* decided to look into the whole affair.

A State Department official told the paper's Washington bureau he was "surprised" that Patterson was making off-the-record talks. Patterson, reached by phone at Kohler, Wisconsin, insisted that, on the contrary, he had been given explicit permission to use the semi-secret lecture technique. He criticized Getts for having induced him to make the tour in the first place, and added that he was ending it at Kohler. A State Department spokesman then confirmed the fact that the department had approved the off-the-record deliveries in the first place. Amid the comedy of denying and confirming, the Yugoslav Embassy sent a formal note to Secretary Marshall protesting Patterson's utterances.

Patterson hurried back to the Capital to confer with his superiors. The tiptoeing State Department still would not tell the *Post-Dispatch* anything "for direct attribution," but hinted broadly that the lecture trip was over. Next day, with department approval, Patterson went to Brooklyn to deliver another lecture on Yugoslavia.

Last week, aroused Yugoslavia let it be known that Patterson would no longer be *persona grata* in Belgrade diplomatic society. The Communist paper, *Borba*, charged that Patterson had deliberately sought to "poison" US-Yugoslav relations. The embarrassed State Department, after the succession of fumbles, was preparing to warm up a substitute for the lecturing emissary.

Washington Wire



Vacuum to Fill

THE international test is almost here. The time has come for leadership. Can Truman give it? The story started back with World War I, but reached its decisive point in a recent snowstorm in Britain. Britain has given up her position in Egypt; she is dropping out of Burma, will quit India a year hence, plans to turn Palestine over to the United Nations. Now, in a formal little note, she tells the United States that she cannot maintain her financial responsibilities in Greece after March 31. The note dumbfounded Secretary of State Marshall, who considered its implications far more grave and pressing than even the issue of Germany at the Moscow Conference.

The snowstorm revealed that Britain's imperial burden is beyond her means. Next comes the question of whether Britain can sustain her part of the German occupation costs. How about the value of the pound sterling, and its effect on Canadian currency? Britain must produce to keep her head above water, and yet her internal weakness is such that a snowstorm stopped her plants: her total over-all loss will be equivalent to one month's production, or a twelfth of a year's work, it is estimated here.

The Greek issue is the one immediately critical in the international power vacuum opened up by Britain's decline, and in the consequent jagged juxtaposition of the two world giants, Russia and America. Truman and Marshall called a hush-hush conference of legislative leaders last Thursday, laid the facts before them with brutal frankness, pledged them to solemn secrecy. The result was that 24 hours later the story was all over Washington. Simultaneously Hoover, back from Europe, was mentioning the need of spending \$475 million to get Germany running again; \$350 million for relief in liberated areas.

Neither Hoover nor Congress will yet face the facts. Hoover urges that relief to bankrupt Europe be made as a "loan," not a gift. He wants desperate Britain to match the proposed \$475 million American item to Germany. This is almost funny. If you want to see how funny it is, go back and read about the Hoover war-debt "moratorium" to our Allies after World War I. The nation couldn't face facts then, and now Hoover wants us to make the same mistake again. On balance, however, Hoover's documented statement is immensely valuable in its effect on Republicans.

Congress shows no disposition to face facts either. For a fortnight it has been going through its fantastic fairy-tale egg dance over whether to use hypothetical and unhatched budget savings for debt reduction or for tax cuts, and growing quite bitter about it. It is hard to think of any parallel to this for unreality. The world's wants are going to exceed anything proposed in Truman's budget. Furthermore, a breath of business recession at home, which most economists now expect, would wither a budget surplus. The whole "surplus" thesis is postulated on the hope that the biggest national income in history will grow still bigger next year. A decline under the estimate by so much as five percent, it is thought, would knock \$4 billion out of Treasury tax revenues. Yet Taft and Taber are already "spending" the surplus on a 20-percent tax cut.

So now the time has come for Truman to show his hand. He will discuss the international crisis soon, probably this week. Secretary Marshall, either himself, or through Dean Acheson, will speak shortly, too. This is the time of decision. After we have lived behind the security of the British Empire for a century, with all the attendant fun of criticizing it, the buffer is coming down. What the United States does now will set the pattern for a long time to come.

THIS column emphatically opposes the proposed constitutional amendment limiting future Presidents to two terms. The Constitution needs flexibility, not more rigidity, and this is just one more effort to tie the hands of future generations by the supposed superior wisdom of the present. Safety against a dictator does not lie in the words written in a formal document but in the faith implanted in the hearts of citizens. If, in some future world crisis, Americans want another third-term Roosevelt, this proposal would block it, just as it would have halted Theodore Roosevelt from running as a third-term "Progressive." It is pleasant to record that even the conservative *Washington Star*, which apparently has just had a hormone injection in its editorial page, attacks the proposal as an example of "political immaturity."

WE WISH the best for Lew Douglas as ambassador to Britain, a man of wealth, education, integrity and intelligence. His conservatism and logical mind will make him attractive to Republicans, and this is important with a non-partisan foreign policy. And yet we wonder whether Douglas will learn a lot in Socialist Britain, or whether he has the capacity to learn. Douglas was devoted to the principle of the balanced budget. He broke with FDR rather than countenance a public-works program. He believed that when national income dropped, federal expenditures should be curtailed. Now he is going to the land of Keynes. Frances Perkins says of him in her temperate book that his philosophy was like Hoover's—"let wages, hours, employment, prices, sales, production drop until natural economic forces begin to restore business and industrial activity." Maybe Douglas has changed in a dozen years; otherwise it is a bit like sending a Methodist missionary as ambassador to the Pope.

Washington

T. R. B.



Rider of the Apocalypse

IN 1936, ARTIST GEORGE GROSZ SAW THE SPECTRE RETURNING

Courtesy of H. Bittner & Co.

Germany

On the Eve of the Moscow Conference

AS THE Foreign Ministers convene, the *New Republic* prints a roundup on Germany today. The special reports in the following pages describe a country where underlying facts often belie appearances. They tell of a people who seem docile, but who still harbor Nazi beliefs and a Nazi underground; of an economic organism that looks more shattered than it is; of a nation that seems helpless now, but that has known how to use defeat as the means of preparing the way for new aggression.

At the same time the evidence shows that Germany is now half-paralyzed by hunger and social disorganization. There can be no question of Germany's immediate need for outside aid and relief. But as the victors undertake to alleviate suffering and to set up a functioning economy in that country, problems like these arise:

1. If the powers turn their attention to rehabilitating Germany without simultaneously rehabilitating the countries which the Third Reich overran, Germany may reap an advantage even in defeat.

2. If the Eastern and Western powers allow present disagreements to goad them into competing for the allegiance of Germans by promising them easier conditions, Germany will stand to gain ever greater advantages over her neglected victims and neighbors.

3. If the victorious powers yield to the growing German desire for self-determination, they may find themselves doing so at a time when the German people are largely unregenerate and show little enthusiasm for democracy.

4. If any occupying power—and this means the United States in particular—becomes so concerned over the cost of relieving German distress as to propose that Germany be made "self-supporting" through rapidly revived heavy industry, there is at present great danger that such a revival may simply lead to a revived German war machine.

One school of American opinion has already spoken of developing the potential of western Germany "in the interests of Western Europe"—and presumably against the interest of Eastern Europe. The *New Republic*, as Henry Wallace sums up in his editorial on page 20, believes that if there is to be revival of German industry, it must be in the interest of all of Europe. Germany should be looked on not as a prize or possible ally, but as an errant nation to be brought back into a world community. And it is this community, rather than the interest of any one nation or group of nations, which should come first. — THE EDITORS

THE WRITERS: Lewis F. Gittler, wartime interrogator for the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF and later a Berlin correspondent for Life, cables from Stuttgart an interview with a convicted Nazi terrorist; Arthur L. Mayer reports on what he saw in Germany during a recent tour as personal representative of the chairman of the American Red Cross; Kendall Foss, correspondent of the *New York Post*, cables from Berlin on German political life; Olag Hoeffding, wartime government expert on Germany and now Economics professor at Columbia,

looks at Germany's economy; Robert Wohlforth, wartime head of a Justice Department economic intelligence unit and at present a member of its Anti-Trust Division, recalls Germany's strategy after her earlier defeat.

THE ARTISTS: Two Germans who described their country's tumult after its previous defeat and who prophetically fought its militarist revival are represented: the relentless satirist George Grosz, and the somber and compassionate Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945.)

Explosion Number One

by Lewis F. Gittler

On the eve of execution, a Nazi terrorist tells about his gang and how he planted the first bomb in the American zone

ON A dark evening last September, four bombs went off outside the denazification court in Stuttgart. The explosions weren't much in themselves, but they were the first violent signs of dirty work in the United States zone and they were enough to startle people out of their complacency.

Two months later, after American intelligence agents and German police had combed the area, a pale, shabby, 23-year-old youth who looked like any other idler around town was picked up on a Stuttgart street. Within 15 minutes he confessed that he had been the ringleader in the attack, and described himself as a former SS officer who had made it his mission to organize and lead a "bloc against the Soviet East." German papers printed a picture of him in an SS captain's uniform and were so impressed by him that they interviewed him in American style, asking him his opinion on Hitler's whereabouts and on how German youth should be raised.

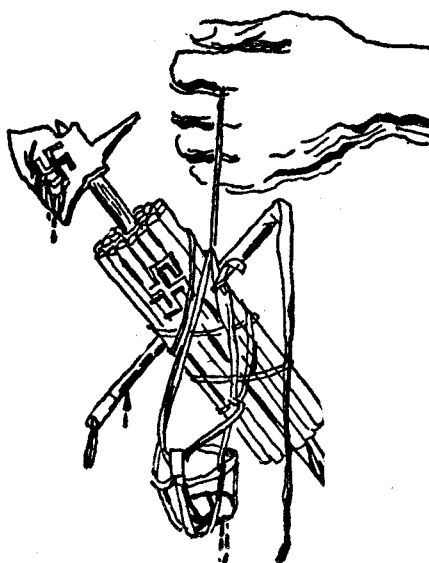
The man's name is Siegfried Kabus. Just what connection he and his gang had with the band of former SS officers who were arrested in the western zones on February 23 is unclear. But there is no question but that Kabus is a prototype of members of restless and desperate ex-army men today idling in every city and village of Germany.

On the day the mass arrests took place, I went to Stuttgart to get Kabus'

story. I met him in the warden's office of the Ludwigsburg Prison, where he is awaiting execution. In spite of the cocky show he had put on, he looked a little forlorn in his austere prison suit. The German guards removed his handcuffs and left us alone. Kabus bowed respectfully and sat down in a comfortable chair near the stove, inquiring politely whether he might keep on his jaunty beret; he said he did not want to show his prison-shaved head.

He had wanted to be a hero. He was pleased that his deed had made him a celebrity, and when we talked about his conviction he had the hurt look of a spoiled child who felt he was not being treated right.

The adventures that led to the bomb-



ing began, he said, in the last days of the war when the unit to which he was attached disintegrated during the defense of Prague. He had been ready, he said, "for the last great battle, to hold out until the end or until the wonder weapon would turn the tide." When everything collapsed instead, he met up with some Hitler Youth leaders who were organizing further "Werewolf" activities against the conquerors. Couriers were being sent through the American lines to underground groups in various German cities. Kabus was given five Hitler Youth teen-agers whom he brought through the lines to a point in Bavaria, after which he joined a unit that was still fighting. Not until May 10, three days after surrender, did he know the war was over. Then everyone in the unit was given Bavarian shorts and a civilian blouse. Kabus, posing as a student, made his way to his home town of Stuttgart.

During the next months he drifted back and forth across southern Germany, searching for resistance groups and "Werewolves," meeting furtive characters in air-raid bunkers or villages and associating with footloose SS officers. Once he hid in the cellar of his empty Stuttgart home for 14 days while the town's French commandant lived above him. Another time, American troops in a routine search of all passersby found in his pocket a picture of him in his SS officer's uniform, which he had been unable to bring himself to destroy. While the Americans were examining the photo he managed to run away. There was much noise and shooting and a feverish manhunt in cars. Kabus hid all day in a cellar and at night a GI truck driver gave him a lift and unwittingly drove him through the MP cordon.

The elusive underground

EARLY in 1946, while working on a farm in upper Bavaria, Kabus made his first contacts with an organized underground. In the small village of Friedofing, where a number of former SS men met in a tavern, he got to know a young SS captain who went under the name of von Ronnebeck. Kabus' photo of himself in SS uniform acted like a passport. Von Ronne-



beck took him in and told him stories about powerful SS units lying low in the mountain valleys, waiting for "the day." He advised Kabus to return to Stuttgart and approach a gardener who was described as the "organization's leader" in the area. But Kabus, the inveterate romantic, first made 12 expeditions into the mountains looking for the SS holdout troops. All he found was a porter in an Alpine *Gasthaus* straddling the frontier who claimed he was the liaison man between the Austrian and Bavarian underground troops. Kabus says he was disillusioned with von Ronnebeck and went back to Stuttgart. It was May, 1946.

The plot thickens

SHORTLY after, a stranger introduced himself to Kabus there, describing himself as a former officer in the Nazi Leadership Corps and saying that he had been sent by von Ronnebeck to get Kabus to join the newly forming underground group. The visitor, who went under the name of Bluhm, spoke of a countrywide secret organization with headquarters in a Mannheim air-raid bunker. He said they had close connections with Spain, the "Polish National Army" and even had "friends in the US counter-intelligence and the British secret service." The group, geared for sabotage and creating unrest, was called ODESSA (*Organisation der Ehemali-*

gen SS Angehörigen, or Organization of Former SS Members). Kabus showed delight at being made the local leader and Bluhm left him a code and told him to await further instructions.

Later, several men came to visit Kabus. They said they had lost contact with the underground and asked his help in reestablishing connections. Kabus says he kept his mouth shut. He knew they were testing him.

In late August, a letter was delivered to Kabus. It was in Bluhm's code. It instructed him to reach his old school friends, Hitler Youth comrades and army-veteran pals. He was to learn the names and whereabouts of denazification-court judges, Communist and Socialist Party officials. Guns, ammunition and explosives were to be obtained.

Set for action

FOR Kabus, this was the real thing. After all the months of talking and searching, here was a specific order and plan. Here was the same conspiratorial atmosphere in which Hitler and his "old fighters" had operated in another postwar era. Kabus had no trouble rounding up 10 young men who lived nearby. They were all younger than he and had been non-coms in the Wehrmacht and SS. One, the eldest of the three Klumpp brothers, had been an SS lieutenant. None of them had any special trade or skill. Their fathers were carpenters, gardeners, office clerks and the like. The youths felt they were recapturing comradeship and a purpose in life in their new world of dark meetings in a bombed-out suburban villa, doing things like collecting guns and explosives to use against real enemies.

The group managed to gather enough explosives to fill five 7.5-centimeter artillery shell casings. Two hundred rounds of ammunition were dug up. A machine-gun and two dozen pistols were rescued from the sea near Hohenheim, where they had been dropped by the German army back in '45. There were also hand grenades salvaged from an old Wehrmacht storage dump outside town.

Everything was set for action when a second letter was put into Kabus' box one night. It was in Bluhm's code and the instructions were starkly simple: to

blow up certain denazification courts and a military prison.

On the appointed night, Kabus sent the three Klumpp brothers to the Stuttgart denazification court, two other groups to Esslingen and Backnang and reserved the Stuttgart military prison for himself. "I took the most dangerous mission," Kabus interjected modestly. He set his bomb under a wall, careful that no splinters would accidentally kill passersby. "This was a patriotic business," Kabus said. "I didn't want to kill anyone." He detonated the bomb and rode away on a bicycle.

The next day Kabus was startled and pleased at the reaction in the press and radio. Everyone talked about it in the streets and cafés. But as days went by without any similar explosions in other parts of the country, he began to get uneasy. He hid in cellars for hours without reason, felt isolated and persecuted. Meanwhile strangers kept coming to see him from all over Germany. Some he met late at night in the eerie half-light of the Stuttgart railway station. Others came directly to his house and asked to join him or invited him to come to Hamburg. Once, a man who said his name was Reck came in a big car with a driver. He had a letter for him from von Ronnebeck, but when he saw that Kabus did not want to follow specific orders, the stranger kept the letter and just told him to go on "kicking up trouble." For a while Kabus met with a gang of youths at the old villa and they polished their guns and planned to kidnap the denazification





minister Kamm and the principal judges Speidel and Neudeck.

Then one day in mid-November, a man named Lueck, who had turned up once before months ago, came and said the "organization" wanted Kabus in Bavaria and they ought to leave right away. They planned to take the afternoon train. Kabus left their café rendezvous to say goodbye to his mother, and while he was waiting for a tram in the Eberhardstrasse, "a man in civilian clothes who looked like an American" talked to him while a German policeman seized him from behind.

The making of a Nazi

I TRIED to find out what underlying motives had made Kabus act as he did. His life story is like that of so many other rootless, restless lower-middle-class young Germans whose one love had been army life and who now can find nothing to take its place. He talked to me listlessly about his family, describing his boyhood under the German Republic as "miserable." His father had come from a family of teachers, but became something of a drifter, clerking in one office after another and complaining of his "bad luck." When Hitler came to power, the father, "an old Hindenburg man," was at first opposed to the upstart Austrian, but then changed his mind and got his first job

in many years shaking a collection box on street corners for a Nazi Party relief organization. Young Kabus joined the Hitler Youth.

In 1935, when he was 12, Siegfried Kabus saw Hitler for the first time. A neighboring peasant village had burned down and Hitler came to sympathize with the victims. When he recounts the experience, Kabus relives it with boyish wonder. "Everyone was excited. We stood in a long row, our bugles ready. Huge, black cars came by slowly and each time I blew like mad on my bugle. They were all SS men in black uniforms riding in long, open cars. Then at last Hitler came by, striding like a giant of power and generosity. He put his hand into his pocket and took out some money and gave it to an old peasant. Then he stopped and looked at us and raised his hand in salute. I almost forgot to blow my bugle." After that, Siegfried Kabus decided not only to be a soldier but an SS man as well.

Living in fantasy

HE didn't think in political terms when he joined the SS, and he does not now. He repeats Nazi clichés by rote, but his real passion was and is simply one for soldiering and all that goes with it. And this passion took him into devious paths. Perhaps the most significant fact about him is that although he described himself to his fellow conspirators as an officer of the SS, and showed them a photo to prove it, he actually never was an officer at all. The highest rank he reached was that of corporal. As a soldier he had been something of a failure; as a ranking underground conspirator he was something of an impostor.

He was wounded very early in the Russian campaign, as a 17-year-old volunteer in the crack Viking Division. Thereafter he had been placed on dull occupation duties. Frustrated and deprived of his chance to appear as a hero, he began to live a life of fantasy. He wrote to his mother and the hometown newspapers that he had been promoted to lieutenant and had been decorated. Home on furlough, he acquired an SS officer's uniform and the manners of a war hero. By the time he was arrested for the Stuttgart bombing, this

life of fantasy has expanded to the point where he described himself as an SS major, a confidant of Himmler and the leader of a special commando troop behind US lines. His manner at the trial was as blustering and cocky as Goering's at Nuremberg. Here, as he enacted the part, was the gallant SS man—the dream-image of the assorted youths who had followed him.

Kabus: symbol and portent

AT the trial German psychiatrists tried to make out that Kabus was simply a deranged fellow. But upon close questioning he seems to be nowhere so "mentally incompetent" as the doctors claimed. He may be an egomaniac, but after all he accomplished something shrewdly calculated to enlist the emotions of others. He lied in calling himself the spearhead of a resistance movement, but it is clear that he was a functioning cog in such a movement. He exaggerated his importance, but knew his significance.

If he is deranged, it is the derangement of militarism. At the trial he kept on playing his role as a hard-boiled SS officer even after he had been exposed. Why did he keep it up? I asked him. He explained that he had done it because his mother had believed in him and his deeds and that he was afraid of her learning the truth. "She knew me as a hero," he said. "It was painful for me to have her think otherwise."

There are many men like Kabus at large, and their mother is Germany.



Winter of Discontent

by Arthur L. Mayer

Hunger, apathy, Allied wrangling and an unrepentant people have retarded the building of a democratic Germany

THE first thing you feel there is the cold. Germans say this has been the coldest winter in modern times. Wherever I went, rivers and canals were frozen. Only a sluggish trickle of hard coal was coming out of the Ruhr. The brown coal that had been promised from the Russian zone had not been delivered.

At first glance, wintry Germany looks as if it had become congealed. Yet it does show some signs of movement and material advance. I had been in Germany on V-E Day and thus had a basis for judging the changes since then. The rubble which formerly blocked city streets has now been piled with neat Teutonic precision along the building line. Few buildings have been repaired, but roads and bridges are being rebuilt. Postal and telegraph services have been reestablished. You can now roar down the Autobahn at 90 miles an hour without plunging into shellholes. Rail service has been restored, although the rolling stock is reminiscent of the Erie in its worst days. Theatres are crowded, although no one is ever sure of what is to be seen. Almost 50 daily newspapers appear with considerable regularity, though the paper shortage limits the production of magazines and books.

Civilian transportation is uncertain and halting—but so is Army transportation, since our cars have deteriorated with hard use and insufficient maintenance. For a visitor, however, this has its compensations. What with flat tires, clogged oil lines and defective transmissions, I had ample opportunity to

talk to farmers and their wives and buxom daughters. As of old, they are industrious, ingenious and slightly patronizing to foreigners.

It is easy to understand why poorly oriented AMG officers readily assume that the Germans, if not supermen, are at least the best men in Europe. If these rural Germans resent the American occupation, they do not indicate it, and are always courteously helpful to stranded travelers. Of course, a few American cigarettes are not resented either. Their homes are warm with wood fires, and if you gain their confidence they display larders filled to overflowing. Their children are well fed, and so are their cattle. Their chief complaints are the lack of farm tools, building supplies and kitchen utensils.

But apart from the farmer, perhaps the only class of person in western Germany who today enjoys a high degree of comfort and security is the industrialist. The extent of the denazification program is much debated. It seemed to me to have skimmed only the surface of Hitler's officialdom. I met several officials, including the police chief of a fair-sized city, who were admittedly former party members. Their contention—and indeed the contention of all Germans with whom I spoke—was that in order to remain in good health under the Nazi regime, personally and politically, you had to be "practical." And the most "practical" men of all were the former Nazi big businessmen, most of whom emerged

from the war even healthier than before. These men today keep open houses and closed minds. It is of far less consequence that a small-town postmaster is an ex-Nazi than that the playmates of American colonels in Berlin are former members of the business clique which financed Hitler.

The urban middle class and the upper strata of artisans, meanwhile, have virtually ceased to exist as classes. Together with the rest of the workers, they have sunk to a level below any semblance of decent standards of living. Germany is one widespread slum, or, more accurately, four slums in search of a savior—maybe of a Führer. Misery is divided into four un-self-sustaining principalities, and of these the least self-sustaining is the American. In the lowest-income homes even the basic requirements of life—heat, furniture, bedcovering, cooking utensils—are lacking. Warm outer garments, underclothing, shoes, baby clothes are practically unobtainable. And most devastating, of course, is the scarcity of food.

The inertia of hunger

IN the British zone the ration of approximately 1,200 calories a day constitutes a form of slow starvation. The Ruhr miners are granted a special allowance of 4,000 calories, but they divide it with their families and thus are not sufficiently nourished to perform heavy manual labor. Although a liberal, I was not allowed to enter the Russian zone, but from all accounts the food situation there—in spite of the fact that it includes Germany's most fertile areas—is only slightly better than in the British zone. In the American zone the allowance of 1,550 calories daily (and even that by no means always available) is about half of what the average American consumes.

You can hardly expect people living under such conditions to show great positive interest in setting up democratic institutions. Our problem is that the Germans today are of a mind to listen to anyone who will promise them one square meal a day along with a comfortable home and clothes for the children—which means they are as ready as they were last time to fall for a Hit-



KAETHE KOLLWITZ CALLED THIS POSTER "THE SURVIVORS." THAT WAS 1923

ler. Only the presence of Allied forces prevents such a man from taking over.

Looking for a scapegoat

IT IS dangerous to make sweeping generalizations, but with few exceptions I found the older people in German cities to be sunk in servility. A year ago they were suffering from a form of shell shock, physically due to repeated bombings, psychically due to the complete collapse of a regime in which, discounting the double-talk, they had complete faith and pride. Now, awakening from their trauma, the air is filled with their complaints and recriminations. They attribute all of their troubles to the brutality of the *verdamnte* Russians or to the vacillations of the *verrückte* Americans. The food supply is insufficient, they claim, because

Allied soldiers are eating it up. The reason there are not enough homes isn't that Hitler started a war which brought down the vengeance of mass bombing, but that houses are being requisitioned for American women and children. I found no awareness of German guilt, but only a constant harping on Hitler's errors—not errors of aggression and oppression of the weak, but errors of strategy.

Many Germans expect an early Allied withdrawal. Others hopefully predict a break between Russia and the United States. They see Germany's great opportunity once more presenting itself as East and West annihilate each other. These German aspirations are especially prevalent among the younger generation. Almost all the young men I saw seemed hostile and sullen. I heard many

tales of strange disappearances of older Germans who had ventured to cooperate with the Allies. I saw coal cars that had been attacked and completely ransacked in a few moments. Several American generals predicted to me that there would be serious uprisings led by Nazi groups before the end of winter. The Nuremberg trials of Nazi leaders have not made the impression we hoped for, and you hear Germans cynically remarking that they would have put our own high command through the same process, had they won the war.

Next to the Allies, the Jews are still the most convenient scapegoat for Germans seeking to fix the blame for their debacle. There are now fully 250,000 of them in DP camps, and they refuse to return to homes which can never be home to them again. They demand that

they be permitted to leave the scene of their anguish. Ninety percent of them wish to go to Palestine, and most of the rest to South America. Few seem eager to come to the United States; they have been served too many tales of a rising tide of American anti-Semitism and of the imminence of an economic collapse that will dwarf 1929. In spite of some errors of judgment and sporadic indications of prejudice, the American Army has handled the Jewish DP problem with understanding and tolerance. Efforts to establish self-sustaining industries and agriculture are now being encouraged. A better-than-average food ration has been maintained. Thousands of Jews are alive today only because of military assistance.

Confused Russian policy

GERMAN venom against the Jews is exceeded only by fear and loathing of the Russians. The people take delight in any sign of discord between Russia and the West. Actually, though, our own relations with the Russians in Germany are by no means so strained as they sometimes appear in Washington or Paris. General Clay and his assistants on the Control Council told me that the Russians are tough horse-traders in the best individualistic Yankee tradition, but that we are negotiating with them daily on a basis of reasonable give and take and are not faring too badly. The French, with their demand for the Saar and the internationalization of the Ruhr, are far more intransigent.

In their relations with the Germans, meanwhile, the Russians seem very unclear in their own minds whether their approach should be one of cajolery or sternness. Their vacillation arises from the fact that the needs of their own war-scarred economy are in constant conflict with their aspirations for building up a regime in Germany that will be friendly to their own. Thus there have been four major changes of policy so far in the Russian zone over the removal of industrial equipment. Right now, counter to their plan at the start, the Russians are concentrating on raising factory production on German soil: their need for consumer goods is such that they are prepared to make

almost any sacrifice of policy in order to get them. But on the other hand, some heavy removals are still going on—and this, along with the retention of masses of German war prisoners in Russia, embitters the German population. And this in turn spoils the prospects of the Russian-sponsored Socialist Unity Party.

America's failure

BUT if the Russians are perplexed and confused in their policies, so are we. To begin with, immediately after V-J Day American public opinion succeeded in pressuring our authorities into bringing the boys home as fast as possible. In spite of our fine expressions of international responsibility, our forces in Germany are being dissipated so rapidly that only 150,000 GI's are scheduled to be stationed there by the end of the year. Most of these are callow recruits, many are of low mentality and morale, and only a small fraction are trained and equipped to fight. Little, if anything, has been done to orient them for their democratic mission in a totalitarian-minded community. Living a comfortable life as masters of the situation, they are easily impressed by German cleanliness and deference to authority. Many GI's with whom I spoke thought that Hitler had not been far wrong in his destructions of unions, his suppression of civil rights and his persecution of the Jews. Some of their officers are openly pro-German. "We fought the wrong people," is a comment frequently heard.

On the other hand, our top Army men in Germany—above all Lieutenant General Clay—are conscientious, efficient, hard-working men, terribly handicapped by Germany's division into several economically watertight compartments, by the insufficient manpower and funds entrusted to them by Congress, by the low quality of many of their subordinates and by the lack of understanding of their problems on the part of Americans at home.

With considerable justification, our chiefs in Germany fear that an economy-minded US may refuse to go on pouring money into our occupation program. So, to prevent a disastrous retirement from our European commit-

ments, they are prepared to finance our needs by encouraging the economic restoration of Germany toward prewar levels. In this they are joined by as motley a crowd as ever gathered under one political roof. Among them are reactionaries and bitter ex-Communists who believe that war with the Soviets is inevitable and who want us to build up a strong Germany as an ally. Then there are those who follow the current Soviet line and want to see German industries strengthened to help serve Soviet needs. Next, there are the American and British bankers and industrialists who favor any move that will make Germany a more profitable customer. And finally there are the idealists who are pleased with any steps taken to promote the comfort of the Germans.

It is true that industrial activity in the western zones is still extremely low. Only an irregular trickle of raw materials seeps in. Absenteeism is reported to be running as high as one day out of three. Few German businessmen are ready to assume the risks of promoting large undertakings; free enterprise, if not dead in Germany, is at least dormant. But Germany still has the biggest industrial potential left in Europe, all set up for the mass production that may threaten peace again. What is weak is her capitalist underpinnings, and the British and Russians have further weakened them by making basic economic changes in their zones.

Shoring up reaction

THE Americans alone seem reluctant to face the realities of the situation. General Clay has expressed complete neutrality on the subject of socialization, but many of his aides are less open-minded. Their tendency is to ally themselves, not with the liberal elements that are Germany's best hope, but with the most reactionary ones. Outside of a small group of elderly industrialists, very few Germans actually favor a return to laissez-faire. The Americans in Germany today look more conservative than even the most conservative Germans. It is as if in Germany we wanted to go back to the spirit and practices of the 1920's. But although one cannot repeat history, one may well repeat its blunders.

Henry Wallace

The Moscow Conference Can Succeed

THE Moscow Conference about to open can be one of the greatest successes or one of the greatest failures in human history. Success could mean lasting peace. Failure could mean ultimate war. If each nation comes to Moscow intent upon winning the next war, then the conference will certainly fail. On the other hand, success is certain if every problem is approached from the standpoint of building peace and prosperity for all the people of Europe, including Russia and England. Good intentions on the part of individuals will not be enough at Moscow. There must also be the conviction among heads of delegations and the staff membership that permanent peace can be constructed in a world where capitalist democracies, socialist societies and communist states live side by side.

Today there is real danger that governments will go to Moscow believing that they possess mandates from their peoples to win the next war. It is true that there is a widespread belief that ultimately another war is probable. This belief must be overcome if the Moscow Conference is to succeed.

A year ago I began to bring to the attention of the American President and the American people the facts about our foreign policy that gave the USSR cause to fear and suspect us. I made it clear that I was against all types of imperialism and aggression, whether of Soviet, British or American origin. But I put my chief emphasis, especially in my letter to President Truman, on United States actions that lead Russians to fear war with us. So many people, inside and outside the government, were stirring up hatred of Russia that I felt it essential to bring to world politics an over-all point of view.

For the same reason, in the interests of peace, I wish that someone in Russia might explain to Stalin what it is about the USSR which most Americans fear and why it is that they hesitate to risk the all-out effort for peace, without which the Moscow Conference may fail.

I will not go into the full details which a Soviet official might document for Stalin. Briefly, the fundamental trouble is that a great many Americans are convinced that both the Communists and the Soviet government are intent on dominating Europe and eventually the world. Stalin should know that the fear of Russia and communism is not confined to reactionaries, but reaches

much deeper into the trade-union and liberal movement than most Russians realize. Here lies a great danger. Hatred and fear in one country can so rapidly engender hostility in the other. Suspicion mounts as propaganda swings into action on both sides. Finally both peoples take extreme positions.

Regardless of how many Americans fear communism; or doubt the faith of Soviet leaders in the stability of a world that is part communist, part socialist, part capitalist; or suspect Russia of being "aggressive and expansionist"; or mistrust Russia's position with respect to atomic-energy controls and world disarmament, the fact remains that the Russians have reason to know that the common man of the United States wants friendship and peace with the Soviet Union. The American people came promptly and willingly to Russia's aid even before the United States was involved in war. They continued their help and fought side by side with the men and women of Russia to rid the world of a common enemy. The Russians know that the American people, by an overwhelming majority, four times elected as their President a man whose foreign policy included firm and lasting friendship for the USSR. These facts speak with eloquence and incontrovertible force. They demonstrate the friendship of the American people for Russia and the deep underlying desire of the American people to remain at peace with all nations of the world.

NO ONE NATION is responsible for the failures of the past year. I believe that the only starting point for the Moscow conference is the acceptance by all sides of mutual responsibility for the lack of progress so far. Each nation, in the language of the church, might well say, "Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa."

This requires greatness in men. It requires men who will tackle the problem of peace in the same global, great-hearted, all-out way that Roosevelt employed in fighting the war in coöperation with the Russians. On behalf of America, George Marshall can be that man. We know that Marshall has Truman's complete confidence and we may hope that Stalin will establish the same fine personal relationship with Marshall that he had with Roosevelt.

The conference has a real chance for success if in this spirit both sides seek agreement on Germany as

part of a wider settlement of all basic problems that are barriers to a true understanding.

The easiest way to break down the illusion that communist and democratic societies cannot live side by side is for them to work successfully on common projects. If Soviet leaders fear depression in the US and breakdown in Britain, then they have a vested interest in the success of the British Labor Government and in continued American prosperity. The best way to work for these ends is to work together for world prosperity.

Europe is poverty-stricken, disease-ridden and torn apart by war. The first objective is European reconstruction. The agency created for this purpose—the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe—has been planning action for Western Europe under a British secretary. Its scope and functions should be greatly enlarged. All nations of Eastern Europe should be made members of the committee and plans must be started for expanding the production of all of Europe, including Russia. Special plans should be made for Germany, Poland, the Balkan states, Russia and Italy.

In planning for Germany, we must think primarily of the over-all needs of Europe. German heavy industry, so long an instrument of aggression, should not be built up again for the simple purpose of bringing in German profits and thus balancing our occupation budget, with no further questions asked. German coal and steel should be looked on first as European coal and steel. If German production is to be stepped up, it should be allocated to all European nations—Germany included—in proportion to their needs. Germany must learn to live in a community before she can safely be allowed to reassert her individuality. We must fit Germany's economy into the economy of Europe, and not vice versa.

In nearly all of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe outside of Germany and Russia, the agricultural output per man has been from one-tenth to one-fifth that of the American farmer. Most of the water power has been going to waste. Industry has not been developed. Interest rates are high and the standard of living is only about one-sixth that of the United States, largely because manpower has been wasted. Railroads, highways, flood-control and power development all need to be planned on a regional basis for Europe.

THERE will soon be tremendous surpluses in the United States to match the great need in all of Eastern and Southern Europe. This year the committee should put German, English, American, French and Russian technologists to work, under its own direction. The one directive would be to lay out the railroads, the roads, the dams, the power plants and the factories, not from the standpoint of the next war but from the standpoint solely of self-liquidating projects which will service the

expanding desires of these needy people. Peace will never be built on ideas in a vacuum but only through nations coöperating enthusiastically through the right kind of agencies to raise the living standards of the people. Peace is built by individuals from different nations working together on specific problems which increase the general welfare.

In this spirit of concern for the welfare of the world as a whole, I am certain that solutions can be found this year to the major problems that divide the world today. It will be possible to find a basis for control of atomic energy and to make a start on disarmament. Steps can be taken to bring peoples closer together by lightening censorship, making travel easier, arranging for greater interchange among labor, farm, religious and professional groups in all countries, and by strengthening UNESCO through Soviet participation. The emphasis in seeking security can shift away from a competitive race for bases and toward UN control of strategic areas.

As far as propaganda is concerned, I am sure that no nation gains by creating suspicion of another nation anywhere in the world. Legitimate grievances must always be expressed and the only effective answer to Communist propaganda that I know of is the abolition of human misery. But once we begin to agree that democratic capitalism and Soviet communism can live in one world, I am sure that the anti-American nature of Communist propaganda will disappear. In this country in turn, the rebirth of the progressive movement following real peace between the United States and Russia will be reflected in more objective treatment of the USSR by the American press. Of course some groups in America will try to keep the pot of Soviet hatred on the boil. But their assignment will grow harder and harder as the prospect of peace grows.

SOME people may hope that the Moscow Conference will fail. I don't know them. If Moscow fails, if war—not peace—is in the hearts of the negotiators, if Germany is handled so as best to help the war plans of the great nations, then we may expect the development of psychological warfare of a sort that will disintegrate almost every human being by its lies. There will be an intensification of espionage, publicity machinery, diplomatic double-talk, military preparedness and economic planning, all in the framework of spiritual warfare preparatory to the final showdown when civilization blows itself to pieces.

American boys who shed their blood and left their bodies over the entire world did not die to produce this kind of world. Nor did the seven million Russians whose bodies are scattered all the way from Stalingrad to Berlin. As the Moscow Conference opens, we need to strengthen the will to live in one world.

H. W.

Left Plus Right Equals Center

by Kendall Foss

Germany's politicians are talking fast, each hoping to round up sentiment directed at improving the Fatherland's fate

POLITICS is booming in Germany. Hundreds of orators go about haranguing mass audiences that cheer even while they shiver in unbeated halls.

When Kurt Schumacher, the leader of the revived Social Democratic Party, addresses his followers, the atmosphere is tense. He looks lean and underfed as he stands on the platform in his baggy, threadbare clothes. He makes abrupt gestures with his left arm, while his right sleeve hangs empty at his side. His face is marred and seamed; his pale eyes glitter and his harsh voice sounds torn with pain as he cries out: "If the victors are filled with a legitimate distrust because of Germany's past, the Germans of good will are likewise filled with a legitimate distrust toward the things which are going on today!"

"*Sehr richtig*" (absolutely right), murmur the heavily bundled listeners who sit in row after row, raptly following his rhythmic words. And when he makes a point they consider crucial, they break out into what next day's newspapers call "*stürmischer Beifall*"—"tumultuous applause."

Schumacher, master spellbinder, is one of many. What is happening is that the natural prudence which at first kept Germans motionless in the shadows of their ruins is rapidly disappearing. Satisfied that it is safe to attract attention now, they are stirring cautiously. They are stating their requirements in matters of food and shelter and work and a goal to strive for. They are also trying their hands at open opposition.

This new assertiveness has a curiously dual character. It affects "good Germans" and "bad Germans" alike. Every time a legitimate political leader risks an open criticism of the Allies and suffers no ill effects, an unregenerate Nazi is emboldened to risk some small but violent action. The recent sporadic tossings of little bombs belong to this category, as do the reported plots which Anglo-American intelligence officers have lately been exposing. The Nazis have said to themselves: "The Allies are losing their grip; now is the time to launch the terror."

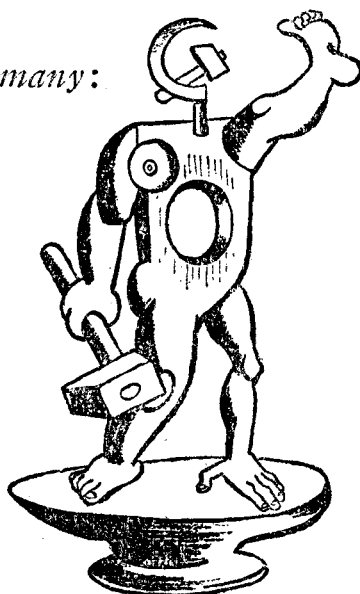
Conversely, whenever a bomb ex-

plodes or some other evidence comes to light that there are Germans around who hate the occupation, one or more political leaders seize the opportunity to remark to Allied officials: "The rising tide of opposition proves your policies are wrong. Listen to the counsel of 'good Germans' and avoid arousing further violent opposition." Speaking in a tent in Munich in the January cold, Kurt Schumacher declared, "We must say quite plainly to the Allies, total victory means total responsibility" (*stürmischer Beifall*).

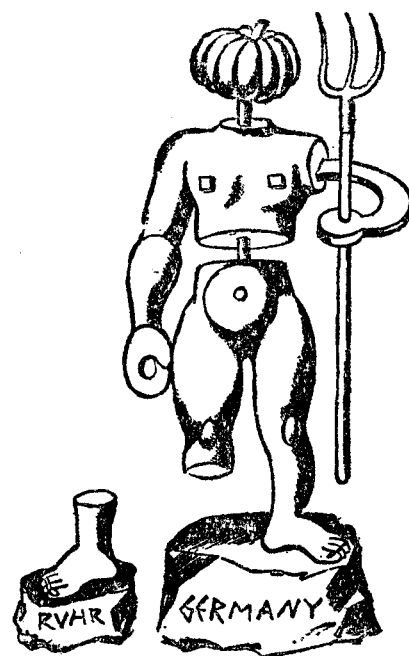
He had placed his finger on a very embarrassing fact. A year ago, for instance, the Allies were exercising their unchallenged power to establish levels for future German industry. This year they are busily revising those levels upward to get rid of the absolute responsibility for feeding Germans who cannot, under the established levels, hope to feed themselves.

Germans have noted this and other reversals and have started reaching for a share of the responsibility we are relinquishing—and for the power that must go with it. For the first time since defeat, the idea has begun to spread in Germany that there is really some sense in having political parties. Today there are 38 parties, or parts of parties, on the scene. Most of them have no meaning beyond the light they shed on the abid-

*Five Plans
for
Germany:*



RUSSIAN PLAN



FRENCH PLAN

ing German fondness for particularism. But the big ones are taking clearly defined shape. In the western zones, the liberal Social Democrats and the generally conservative Christian Democrats (or Christian Socialists in Bavaria) have emerged as the focal points of genuine political life. In the east the Socialist Unity Party (SUP) has the inside track.

In the Russian zone

TO BEGIN in the east: the SUP was formed almost a year ago through the merger of the Communists and Socialists in the Russian zone. It was something of a shotgun wedding, and the new party did not win the support of the Socialist rank and file. But since other parties of the Left were dissolved by decree, dissident Socialists have since had either to vote Christian Democratic (*i. e.*, rightist) or stay home.

The artificiality of this arrangement makes it difficult to measure the actual growth and direction of political consciousness in the Russian zone. But one thing is certain: while communism may still be a "threat" in France and elsewhere in Western Europe, its day has passed in Germany. The Russians, by their mere explosive presence, unwittingly saw to that. In fact, the tight Russian control of political life in the eastern zone has had the opposite effect of helping to bring on a rebirth of Ger-

man chauvinism. This national arrogance of course exists in some degree throughout Germany, but nowhere is it so unbridled as in the Russian zone.

In the first place, non-Communist Germans in the east—which means the great majority—make no secret of their contempt for the cultural and technical methods of the Russians. In this they are simply following Goebbels' doctrine, which told them day after day that Russians were subhuman. The excesses committed by Russian troops play right into the hands of the opposition.

In the Russian zone it has happened that too enthusiastic rigging of elections has resulted in the return of such an overwhelming number of SUP candidates to office as to make the whole show seem phony. Russian commanders on the spot have therefore blandly directed some of the victorious officeholders to resign and make room for non-Communist candidates who might have been elected if they had not been ruled off the ballot at the start. When Germans see this, their respect for the Russian grasp of the workings of democracy disappears entirely.

Such clumsy interventions, in addition to clamorous propaganda and frequent mysterious disappearances of dissident people, give the non-Communist Germans of the Russian zone a telling weapon. They say to SUP disciples,

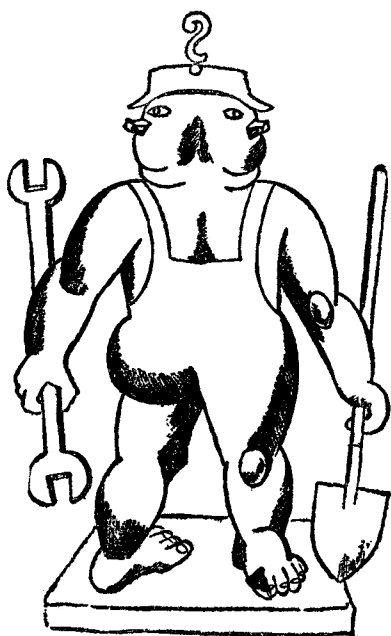
"You people are just like the Nazis, except that you don't do it as well."

"Democracy" pays off

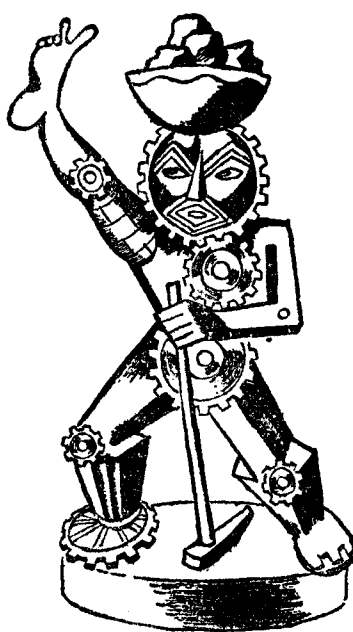
IN THE western zones, meanwhile, German chauvinistic arrogance is a much more limited growth. It takes the form chiefly of grumbling over British inefficiency in the management of Germany's surviving industrial machine and of scoffing at the energy spent by Americans in making themselves comfortable. But the very atmosphere of these zones breeds its own reaction. Right-wing personalities, who have escaped the relatively tight American denazification net and the sometimes extremely loose one of the British, flit discreetly about, mending their disrupted connections. There are instances, particularly in the British zone, of rightist individuals who got along nicely with the Nazis saying, "We have nothing to fear from democracy—provided we, too, enjoy the equal rights which democracy proclaims."

And a Berlin man who recently went to Munich to discuss reviving a business venture was taken aback to hear his Bavarian friend explain: "We two are not quite the right ones to launch this. We need a freshly denazified Nazi with us. As a matter of fact, I've often thought of procuring some false de-

(Continued on page 26)



US PLAN

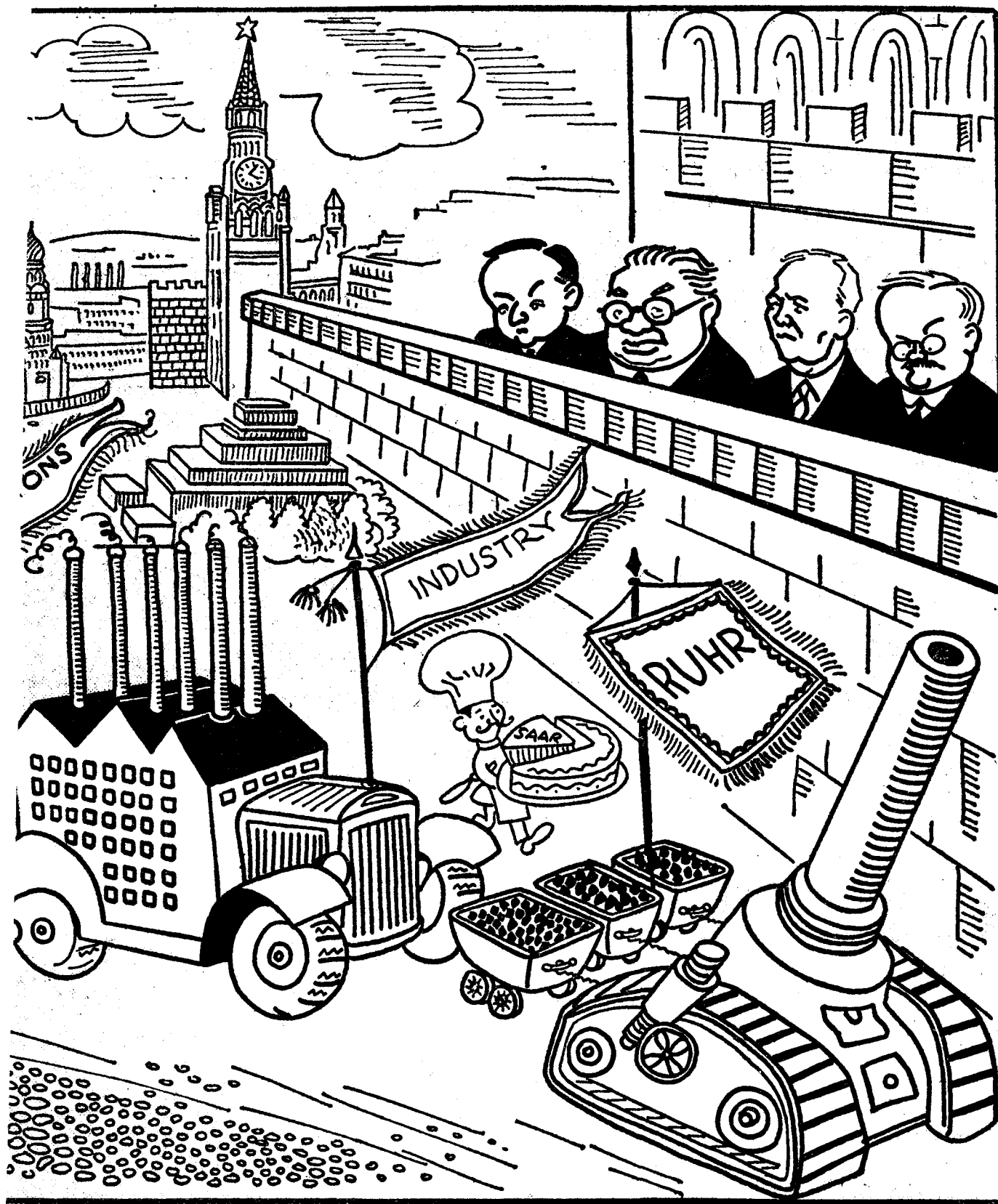


BRITISH PLAN



GERMAN PLAN

Drawings by Kelen



ED SQUARE

e Problems of the Conference

(Continued from page 23)

nazification papers; you never know when they will come in handy in dealing with our business contacts."

New political figures

IN THE west and south of Germany the Christian Democratic Union and its Bavarian counterpart, the Christian Socialist Union—known as the CDU and the CSU, respectively—offer a meeting place for those who reject Marxism and Social Democracy and yet recognize that unadulterated capitalism has no future here. But the weakness of the CDU is its catch-all quality. The people who follow the plain-spoken Jakob Kaiser in Berlin have little in common with those who look to the loftily respectable Doctor Conrad Adenauer in the British zone. Neither of these groups altogether knows what to make of the squat and energetic machine politician, Josef Müller, the party chairman in Bavaria.

In the Russian zone, many liberals vote CDU for lack of anything else. In the Rhineland, on the other hand, Adenauer attracts a large number of those who would like to see a revival of a comfortable middle class as the perfect screen for the restoration of special privilege.

As for Bavarian politics, they have never been comprehensible to non-Bavarians.

Josef Müller, the head of the Bavarian Christian Socialists, actually stands to the Left of some groups in the supposedly more liberal Social Democratic Party which have been compounding little plots with the right wing of his own outfit. As a result, Müller is temporarily in eclipse. Right-wing elements in both parties combined to block him from the Bavarian minister-presidency last December. They were aided in this by a handful of Americans in the Military Government who helped to set the stage.

The Americans had two motives: on the one hand they were uncomfortable over Müller's multicolored past, and on the other, at least some of them distrusted his socialist tendencies.

Müller's record during the Nazi years is confusing. He served as a captain in the German counter-intelligence, but he

also maintained some useful contacts with the Allies. He is credited with having tipped them off on the invasion of the Low Countries in the spring of 1940. He wrote some mildly approving stuff about Hitler, but he also spent time in a concentration camp. He says that he only did for the Nazis what he had to do to cover his tracks; his enemies say he only did for the Allies what he had to do to ensure himself a refuge. Until he makes his appearance before a *Spruchkammer* and the real evidence on both sides is spread upon the record, one cannot say for sure whether we are dealing here with an agile opportunist or a pillar of a new society.

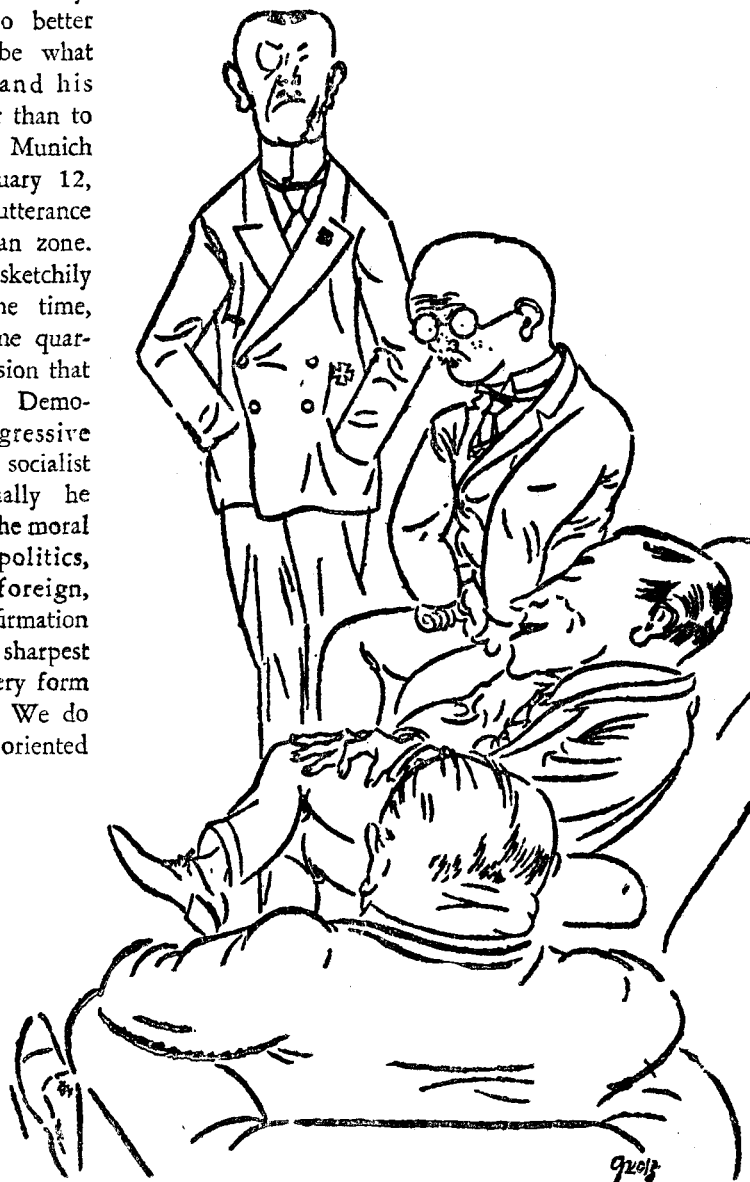
Hope for the future

SCHUMACHER, on the other hand, is a relatively stable entity. So is German Social Democracy.

I know of no better way to describe what Schumacher and his party stand for than to quote from his Munich speech of January 12, his first major utterance in the American zone. It was very sketchily reported at the time, creating in some quarters the impression that German Social Democrats were aggressive nationalists in socialist clothing. Actually he said in part, "The moral basis of all politics, German and foreign, must be the affirmation of man and the sharpest rejection of every form of nationalism. We do not wish to be oriented

east or west. [*Sehr richtig.*] . . . This nation can never become simply a facsimile of another. We can and must be socialists, but we cannot and will not be collectivists. Socialism can only achieve acceptance on the soil of old Europe if it stresses the freedom of the human personality. . . . The good Germans are those who display a patriotism as citizens of the world. Nationalism will try to reassert itself, but we live in an age of internationalism and in the end the ideas of internationalism and socialism are irrevocably bound together. To realize these twin ideals we need good Germans who are at the same time good international socialists."

Kurt Schumacher, with his empty sleeve and his prophet's voice, is, I suggest, the most authentic harbinger of convalescence in Germany today.



How Strong Is Germany?

by Olag Hoeffding

She has lost land and resources, but her manpower and industrial potential are greater now than before the war

TO LOOK at Germany's present-day economy is like looking into a void, knowing all the time that there is a firm foundation underneath.

Although Germany may seem industrially barren today, a great many wheels now silent are ready to turn. The country's present chaotic state may confuse the observer's judgment by piling up impressions of impotence and paralysis which conceal its underlying sources of recuperation and power. And if one tries to make a distinction between Germany's "peaceful" resources and her "strategic" ones, one is in danger of fooling one's self again. Our own American record at war production, for instance, has demonstrated the flexibility of a vigorous peacetime economy and its possibilities for conversion to the needs of war. The disconcerting conclusion would seem to be that no national economy which is up to date and efficient can at the same time be called "safe," so far as aggression is concerned.

Keeping these factors in mind, let us look at Germany's balance sheet:

TERRITORY AND RESOURCES.—The cession to Poland and Russia of the provinces east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers has deprived Germany of 24 percent of the territory which was hers before Hitler embarked on annexation and conquest. Germany, however, has retained most of the population of this lost territory, which fled before the Red

Army or was later evicted by Allied decision. The lost territory was important to Germany chiefly as a source of food and surpluses which helped to feed her industrial west and center. The loss of Silesia has also curtailed the raw-material and fuel bases of German heavy industry: 16 percent of the hard-coal output of prewar Germany came from the portion of Upper Silesia which was hers.

In the west, Germany seems to face no major territorial losses. Loss of the Saar to France, with whose economy it has always been closely integrated, will have no great effect on the German economy. Before the war, the Saar contributed only 1.3 percent of the total

output value of German industry. Germany would lose some exportable coal, but the reduction in her food-import needs would be roughly equivalent.

MANPOWER.—If numbers alone were decisive, defeated Germany is actually stronger than the prewar Reich. When all war prisoners have been returned and the eviction of Germans from Eastern Europe completed, Germany will have more than replaced her war casualties. She lost something like three million soldiers, but under the Nazi impetus she produced offspring at a high wartime rate. In addition, Germany will have to accommodate a majority of the nine million Germans who lived east of the Oder and Neisse, some three million Sudeten Germans, and another million or more *Volksdeutsche* from Poland and the Balkans. As a result, the present population of Germany already exceeds the prewar figure of 59.8 million by more than six million, and the influx of returning prisoners and "evictees" will raise it to 70 millions or more. Germany's population still will be second in Europe only to Russia's.

The picture is not quite so simple as that, however. The very compression of Germany's prewar numbers into three-quarters of her prewar territory will in itself be an important source of weakness, so long as mere physical survival continues to be the main concern of this population. Moreover, the population of

Germany's Foreign Assets: Name Your Own Figure

During the war, Allied propagandists upset many a German by telling him that his leaders had hidden big financial nest-eggs abroad in order to have a safe haven in case of defeat. Now the people who are upset are the Allied investigators who cannot find the eggs. We know roughly how many hundred million dollars of gold the Germans moved to neutral countries, but not how many companies they moved. Estimates of German assets in Switzerland vary between \$250 and \$500 million, and it is still being debated whether the big I. G. Chemie firm is in fact Swiss or German.

Assets in Sweden have been esti-

mated at \$105 million; in Spain at anywhere between \$75 and \$200 million; and in Argentina at anywhere from \$300 to \$650 million.

Some enthusiasts at detection, adding to this the presumed value of German-owned foreign patents, trademarks and cartel agreements, come out at a grand total of over \$14 billion. This figure is doubtless way out of line, since Germany was fairly thoroughly relieved of her foreign assets after World War I and then became a debtor and a heavy importer of capital. But whatever the total figure may be, investigators cannot even agree on the basis of finding it. —THE EDITORS

postwar Germany is unbalanced in its composition by age and sex: As in other countries, German war losses have been heaviest among the most productive male age groups. The chaos of present-day Germany is such that you find both widespread unemployment and a labor shortage, which is due partly to the fact that millions have evaded labor registration to avoid work at low, controlled wages, while others are drawing pay from enterprises that are partially or completely idle. But Germany's present population still harbors most of the manpower and industrial skill which kept Hitler's war machine going.

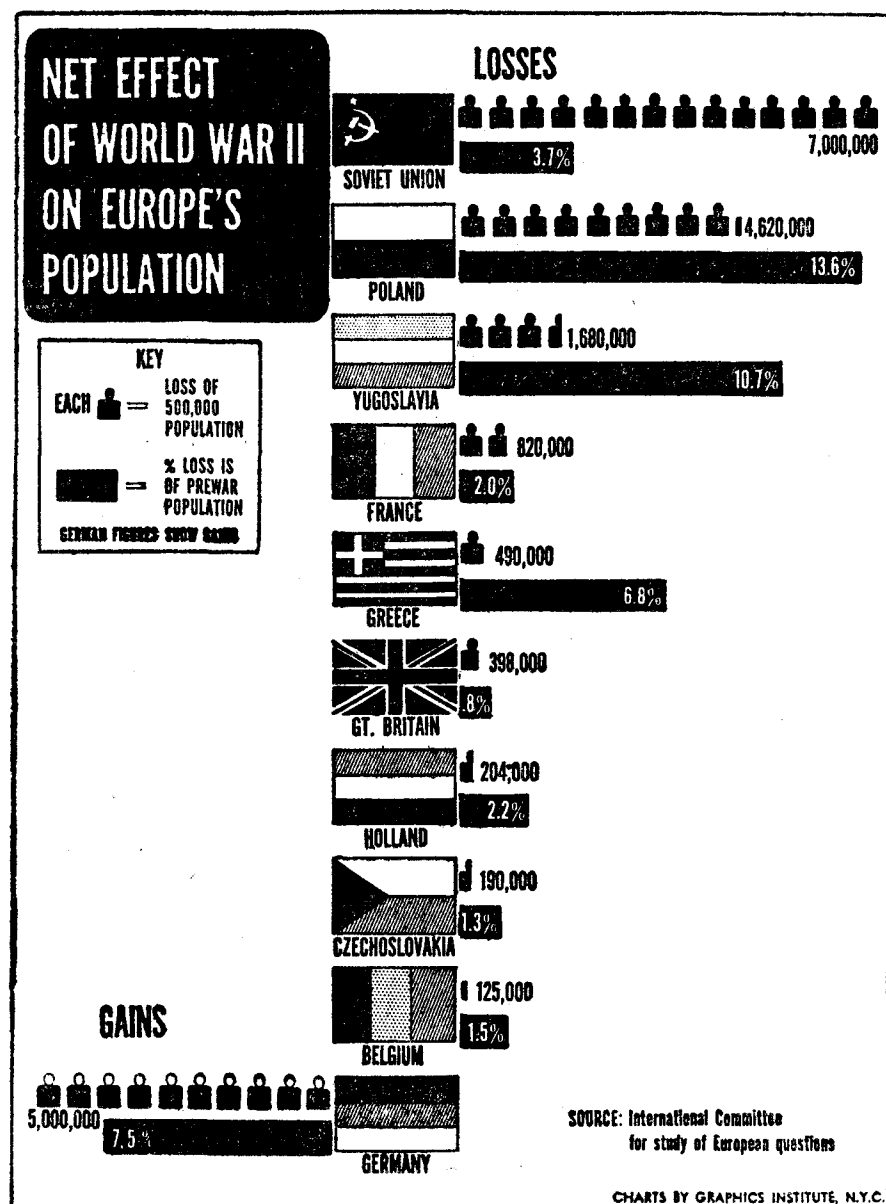
FOOD.—How are Germany's 70 million to feed themselves? Prewar Germany, with a population density of 380 per square mile (Germany today contains 500 per square mile), was never self-supporting in regard to food: even when Goering was preaching guns instead of butter, foodstuffs accounted for 35 percent of Germany's total imports by value. Although it is true that much of this money went for foods that would nowadays be regarded as luxuries (fruit, coffee, etc.), the fact remains that one-third of Germany's fat consumption and one-quarter of her meat consumption was imported, directly or in the shape

of animal fodder. Prewar Germany production of grains and potatoes, if only fed to humans rather than partly to livestock, would indeed have provided a minimum subsistence diet for every German. But this would not be possible in the present-day Germany which has lost 28 percent of her arable land.

Under these conditions it would seem safe to say that no future Hitler could plan for war without first being assured of ample food supplies from outside. Yet the present disastrous state of German agriculture can in part be remedied within the country's own confines. If Germany's industrial machine gets back on its feet, the heavy fall in crop yields since 1945 can be terminated when chemical fertilizers are again produced and when worn-out or removed farm equipment is replaced. This will take a long time, of course, and the restoration of German livestock will take even longer. (Prewar Germany had one pig for every three Germans and one milk cow for every six persons; but by 1946 the ratio had fallen to 10 Germans for each pig and each cow, and this depletion is continuing.) "Import or Die" will continue to be the slogan for postwar Germany's food economy, and this is sure to have two effects: on one hand it will seriously limit Germany's war-making capacity; on the other it will tend to keep alive the demand for *Lebensraum*.

INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY.—Just as Germany is not self-sufficient in regard to food, so she is not self-sufficient in raw materials. During the 1930's, while developing substitutes in her *ersatz* industries, she was also building up her war machine by stockpiling raw materials from abroad. This raw-materials problem must be borne in mind when taking stock of what is left of Germany's industrial capacity. Without such materials, her industries will remain idle, and their revival would require initial importation of supplies from abroad.

Meanwhile the physical status of Germany's industrial plant is difficult to assess. It is obscured by the optical illusions presented in current-day Germany: the shattered towns of the Ruhr do not reflect it any more truly

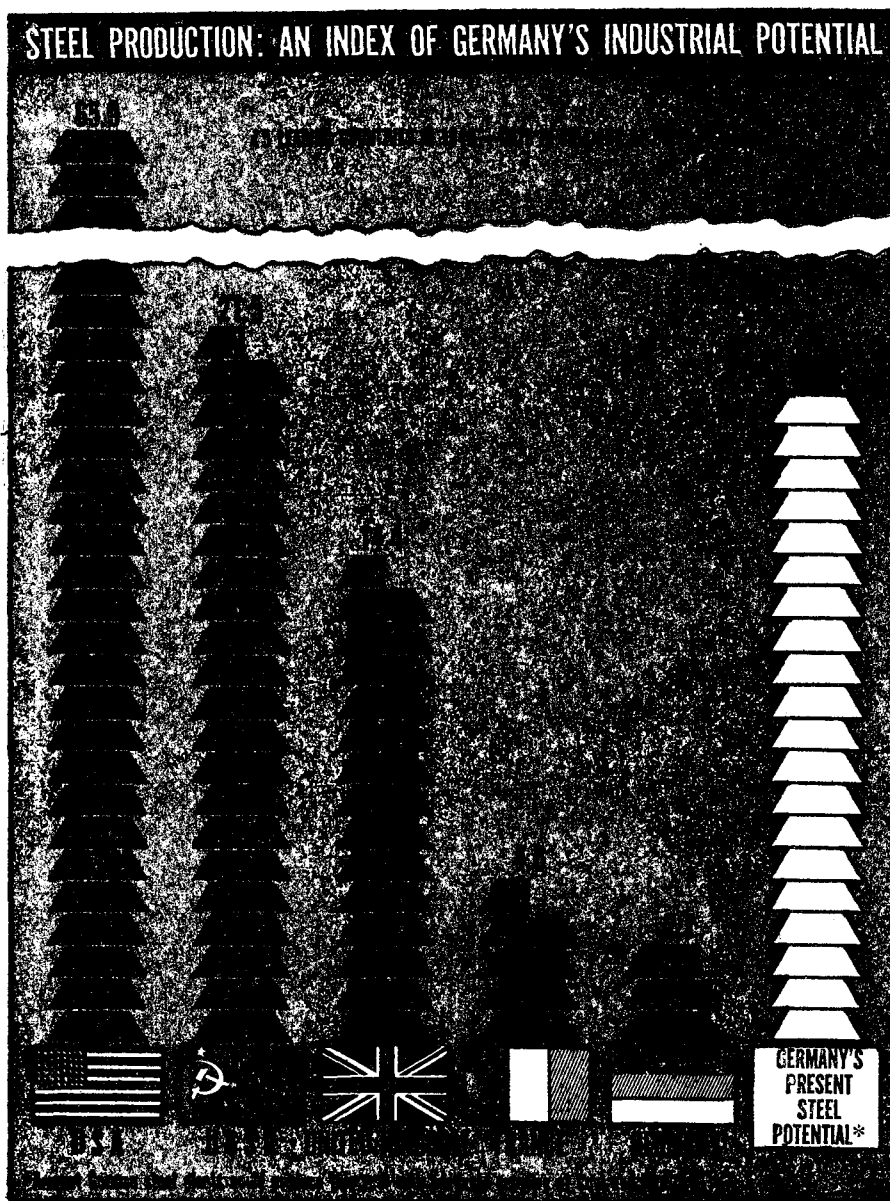


Apart from battlefield losses, Allied populations declined through devastation, dislocation and German retention of prisoners, while Germany's grew through a stimulated birth rate and return of "minorities"

than unscarred Paris represents the true state of the French economy. Organizational chaos, depletion of inventories, lack of fuel and power—these are the main factors responsible for the prevailing paralysis. Beneath this surface, however, the physical equipment which sustained the Nazi war machine has not been greatly impaired.

Allied bombing did not significantly reduce the *capacity* (as distinct from *output*) of German industry. British night attacks concentrated on built-up urban areas; industries located in the suburbs were usually left untouched. The US Air Force attacked selected industries that were turning out finished war equipment or materials and components directly consumed by the war machine. Their aim was to paralyze immediate war production, but not to destroy German industry as such. Damage or destruction of plant and equipment was confined to the narrow peak of the pyramid of German war production, while its broad base remained unscathed. Even in the much-bombed Ruhr, three-quarters of all plants were taken over without serious damage. According to various estimates (or more likely, guesses), the over-all reduction in Germany's industrial capacity by all forms of war damage was between five and 20 percent, the lower figure probably being nearer the truth. Bombing and other war damage probably failed to offset the wartime expansion of Germany's industries. In other words, German capacity on V-E Day was greater than in 1939.

In early 1945, for instance, Germany had 600,000 more machine tools than she had in 1940, and only 150,000 less than the United States. Bomb damage to machine-tool plants, according to the US Strategic Bombing Survey, "did not affect the availability of machine tools to German industry." Thirty percent of Germany's capacity for making electrical equipment had been "damaged" by the end of the war, but permanent destruction was undoubtedly much less. Power-generating capacity remained virtually untouched by bombing; less than one-tenth of one percent of the combined Anglo-American bomb load was dropped on electric utilities. Some industries, like synthetic oil, were



Steel capacity is only one of Germany's many little-damaged resources. The US strategic-bombing survey showed that only nine percent of the total Allied bomb tonnage was dropped on oil, chemical and rubber targets

virtually paralyzed by air attack, but, again according to the survey, oil plants "that had been knocked out completely were brought back into production in relatively few weeks." The synthetic-rubber industry "was never subjected to prolonged or concentrated air attack," and nitrogen plants were damaged only because they were adjuncts of oil plants, and were quickly repairable.

Since V-E Day the job of destroying the top of Germany's war production pyramid appears to have been completed with the dismantling of aircraft and munitions plants, etc. But there is not too much comfort in this: The particular

plants which supplied the Wehrmacht in World War II would probably be obsolete in any event by the time Germany might be capable of preparing for another war. The fate of the lower strata of the pyramid is a good deal more important.

In eastern Germany, the Russians have gone ahead and removed industrial and transportation equipment on a formidable scale, right down through the whole pyramid. In spite of Soviet secrecy and shifts of policy (the decision to resume synthetic-oil production at I. G. Farben's Leuna factory was one), it looks as if all branches of

German industry in the Soviet zone and in what is now Polish territory have been thoroughly pruned.

But this is not so decisive as it may sound. For, apart from the Silesian basin and areas in Saxony and around Berlin, there were no major industrial regions in the zone now controlled by Russia. For an appraisal of Germany's industrial capacity, it is the western zones that are all-important. There the physical base for industrial recuperation is still formidable and strong. The Ruhr coal mines were seized intact and, if production recovery has been slow, this is due to lack of labor, food and mining supplies, not to loss of "capacity." Coal-mine equipment has deteriorated, and no replacements are forthcoming, but in terms of equipment the Ruhr is Europe's most efficient source of coal.

Lack of coal, in turn, has been limiting steel output to a level far below that regarded as "permissible" by the Allied industrial plan; but the capacity which could be made effective with adequate supplies of coal and ore is still above 20 million tons of steel ingots. At least three-fifths of Germany's inventory of 1.7 million machine tools must be located in the western zones, and the number so far allocated to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency has not even reached 100,000. Only in a few directions has industrial disarmament been carried beyond the narrowly set limits of "war industries": all ferro-nickel capacity in the US zone, and two-thirds of shipbuilding capacity in the west, are said to have been physically eliminated. But these are clearly the exceptions: by and large, the reduction in industrial capacity since V-E Day has been very slight. Coal, steel, engineering and basic chemicals—the mainsprings of revival—have been least affected.

Scotched, but not killed

WHAT is keeping Germany's economy down is the country's division into zones, the breakdown of administration and currency and credit, the coal famine and food shortages, the absence of raw materials imports and the lack of incentive among German workers and employers to produce. This adds up to paralysis. But there are great powers of recuperation underneath.

Strength Through Indifference

by Robert Wohlforth

When the Allies split up after World War I, Germany rebuilt her military machine despite disarmament. It can happen again

AT SOME not too distant date in the future, a peace treaty will be signed with a recognized German government—denazified, decartelized and demilitarized—and Germany will be granted sovereignty. Allied occupation forces will gradually be withdrawn and some continuing supervision of the economic and military activity of the new Germany will be undertaken by a Control Commission.

What can we expect from Germany after such a treaty is signed? If the past is any guide, we shall come up against organized German attempts to frustrate its terms. If we let matters go as we did last time, we shall encounter (a) an effort to turn military defeat into economic victory, (b) an active spirit of resistance to any thoroughgoing continuation of disarmament, and (c) an intensive drive to build up Germany in the eyes of Western nations as the only bulwark against communism.

These were Germany's three dominant campaigns in the years after World War I. Although a proportion of German leftists dissented from one or the other of them, Germans of the Right were wholly behind them, and this program was taken up by Gustav Stresemann's People's Party.

It succeeded remarkably. Germany evaded her reparations, avoided the economic consequences of her defeat and rebuilt her industrial power within 10 years. The efforts of the Allied Commission to enforce the disarmament

provisions of the Versailles Treaty were almost wholly nullified. Germany's key war plants, instead of being dismantled, migrated all over Europe. By flaunting the Red Menace in the troubled period after the Kapp uprising in 1920, and for many years thereafter, the German government won concessions from the Allies that ranged from postponement of army reductions and substantial increases in the armed police to the strengthening of fortresses on Germany's eastern frontier.

Leaving aside the general considerations of European politics between World Wars I and II which impinged upon the disarmament of Germany, the bare control picture spells out a pattern that may well be encountered again. The problem last time was that the Versailles Peace Treaty gave Germany sovereignty and left the Inter-Allied Control Commission created under it with supervisory power only. The 300 Allied officers of the Control Commission assigned to the task of eliminating Germany's war potential spent seven years on a job that was expected to take three months. They were "military men without arms, diplomats without mandates."

In all attempts to compel compliance with the treaty, the Control Commission met antagonism and opposition from the German government and from the German people alike. It became a matter of patriotism in Germany to hinder the application of the treaty. German courts ruled that German citi-

ns were not bound by its provisions. Brigadier General John H. Morgan of the British delegation stated that he met with every kind of resistance that German ingenuity could devise."

In order to determine how far Germany was disarmed, for instance, the commission had to know just what the German army had at the time of the armistice. But no such records could be found. German liaison officers gave advance notice to Reich army units about to be inspected by the commission, and aided in transferring military equipment from one garrison to another in order to conceal excess material and prevent accurate checking of stocks. Large quantities of German rifles and machine guns were hidden in false walls and floors: one factory in Saxony contained 600 new howitzers of large caliber, enough to equip 33 divisions, walled up in its cellars. (The treaty allowed Germany 84 of these howitzers.)

Subverting the treaty

How Germany rebuilt her air forces under the cloak of commercial aviation and by means of subsidizing the industry is well known. Less well known is how the German army developed tanks, poison gas and heavy artillery. By the treaty, Germany was forbidden to manufacture armored cars and tanks. But within two years, Germany persuaded the Allied powers to permit the production of small armored cars for police use and for the Reichswehr. Using this concession, Germany went on to experiment with tanks and tank tactics.

For another instance, Germany was forbidden by the treaty to make poison gas, but was allowed to study means of protection against gases. According to German military logic, it was impossible to study gas defenses unless the attack was studied also. In order to study the attack it was necessary to have gas. So Germany made the gas. Again, Germany was forbidden to manufacture heavy guns, but was permitted to retain heavy artillery on fortresses and ships. It was only a short time before secret gun factories, such as those of the Rhein-Metall-Borsig firm, were operating with government support. Didn't



DOWN BUT NOT OUT: A GEORGE GROSZ GENERAL OF 1929

the German army have to have replacements, spares and parts to keep the guns in operation?

Meanwhile, as soon as the treaty went into effect, German arms plants scattered all over Europe. The great military optical plant of Carl Zeiss, forbidden to manufacture devices for the German army and navy, set up a plant in Venlo, just a step across the Dutch border. The Dornier Airplane Company, formerly in Friedrichshafen, moved across Lake Constance to Switzerland. The aircraft factory of Heinkel moved to Sweden and continued producing military planes. Junkers set up a plant in Russia and Fokker moved to Holland. German submarine experts went to work in Spain.

But it was in Russia that the closest cooperation on armaments was received. While table-thumping officers like General Ludendorff tried to persuade the Western Allies—and especially the British—to let Germany rearm in order to serve as their protector against Russian Bolshevism, German interests were busy establishing munitions factories in Moscow, Leningrad, Kuibyshev, the Don Basin, the Kerch Peninsula and elsewhere. Krupp cooperated with the Soviets by leasing them five arms plants. Krupp also erected a Russian submarine plant and staffed it with German naval experts. The Hugo Stinnes concern, the great chemical firm of I. G. Farben and other important German industrial units directed or owned plants

in Russia. In Russia the Reichswehr organized and directed training and experimental centers for tanks, flame-throwers, mortars, poison gases, artillery and aviation.

Heavy industry and coal

THE world remembers pretty clearly how the German government got around the treaty's restrictions on the size of its army, by such devices as setting up paramilitary "police" forces and civilian "defense" formations on the side and by giving its blessing to free-booting "Free Corps" and veterans' leagues and "athletic associations" bent on military drill. By 1923 the German defense minister admitted that all these outfits took orders from the regular army and numbered more than one million men in all.

But less well remembered is the record of postwar German heavy industry. Although the treaty had ordered the dismantling of war factories, the Control Commission never was able to make up its mind as to the difference between a machine or factory that manufactured for war and one that produced for peacetime use. The Krupp plant, with its workshop of large lathes for producing heavy-caliber guns, was also suitable for the manufacture of large tubes used in the Haber process for making ammo-

nia. So the plant remained. While closing down gunpowder and explosives plants, the commission did not require the destruction of plants producing the components of explosives—for these components had important industrial application. Thus the nitric-acid and the nitrogen-fixation plants of I. G. Farben were untouched; electrolytic chlorine plants, constructed to produce poison gas during the war, were ignored.

Yet all this was only part of the story of rapid German resurgence. Perhaps the shrewdest German efforts of all were directed at escaping the economic penalties imposed by the victors. For instance, Germany was required to deliver to France seven million tons of coal annually for ten years. Less than six months after the treaty was signed, though, Germany was already in default on deliveries. The Allies, accepting the plea that German miners were unproductive because undernourished, agreed to pay Germany five gold marks for every ton delivered during the next half-year, the sums to be used to feed the miners.

But these five gold marks were just the beginning. Because of a provision in the treaty that enabled Germany to get certain loans based on the difference between the German domestic coal price and the export price (a difference in favor of Germany of about 40 gold marks a ton), what happened was that a total of 45 gold marks began flowing into Germany for every ton of coal delivered as reparations. Under these circumstances the German coal miners suddenly became very vigorous and productive and in the next six months delivered a tonnage that netted Germany about \$100 million. Germany thus got as much for her reparations coal as she would have done if she had sold it for cash.

With this nest egg in hand, by the end of 1921 Germany turned to the economic rearmament of her own industries. Two years later the British delegate on the Control Commission commented on how Germany was subsidizing key industries, promoting state factories for the manufacture of synthetic ammonia and aluminum and setting up vast electric-power stations. In the meantime Germany again defaulted on re-

parations—this time especially on deliveries of coke to France.

The great German monetary inflation of 1923 had disastrous effects on the mass of German people, yet at the same time government and industry turned to profitable use. As Germany's internal debt was wiped out, German industry now won an advantage over industries in other countries that had to go on making heavy tax payments on their own national debts. As a result, shortly after the Dawes Plan loan made Germany solvent again, the American trade paper, the *Iron Trade Review*, reported that "Germany's plant is completely modernized. During the inflation period when no other saving was possible everything was poured into equipment as though into a savings bank. Inflation was the sponge also, which wiped out the old mark indebtedness. The workers are on hand and the wages are relatively low. All that is needed to lubricate the rusting machinery is credit."

Credit was quickly forthcoming. US investors put about \$100 million into the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the great German steel trust, in 1925, and other huge sums were poured from abroad into the German chemical and electrical industries. The great German industrial mergers and consolidations that now began paved the way for Hitler.

Twenty-five years later

IN 1925, only five years after the signing of the treaty, the Allies were distinctly worried. A British White Paper declared that Germany's defaults in respect of the treaty, "if not promptly rectified, would in the aggregate enable the German government eventually to reconstitute an army modeled on the principles of a nation in arms." But the defaults were not rectified. General C.M.E. Nollet, the French delegate and chairman of the Control Commission, declared "it was no longer in the realm of possibility to hinder this secret work of reconstruction."

It was impossible because the victors had already lost the strength of concerted action and had fallen out among themselves. This time, if we make the same mistakes, we have at least been forewarned.



"IT SMELLS LIKE PEOPLE
AROUND HERE"



AFTERMATH: 1924. Käthe Kollwitz. Hunger and defeat and misery bred the children out of whom Hitler fashioned the Third Reich. In Germany's children of today, if we feed and reclaim them, lies the hope of a changed and better Germany.



United Nations News



Troubled Waters

FOR a country of 10,000 square miles with a population of just over a million—smaller and more sparsely inhabited than the state of Maryland—Albania has shown an amazing ability to stay in the news. The present fight with Britain over the mine-laying incident in the Corfu channel is the culmination of a far-reaching mutual distrust in the Anglo-Russian struggle for dominance over the Mediterranean and its environs.

The Corfu channel, a narrow strip of water lying between the island of Corfu and the Greek-Albanian border, has long been used by ships of all nations proceeding in "innocent passage." But it is a fine point whether it is an international passage, as the British contend, or whether parts of it fall within the territorial waters of Albania, as the Albanians contend. In any case, all of the trouble occurred about a mile and a half from the Albanian coast in the very center of the channel.

A squadron of British warships was steaming through the strait last October with crews at battle-station. The destroyer *Saumarez* struck a mine, was taken in tow by the destroyer *Volage*, which promptly struck a second mine. In the two explosions both ships were badly damaged, 44 British sailors were killed and 42 were injured.

Britain demanded an apology and compensation, but Albania refused on the grounds that she had not laid the mines, did not know who had laid them and considered the whole thing an anti-Albanian plot. The incident began to develop all the attributes of a good sea mystery. Less than a month after the explosions, Britain informed Albania that she was sweeping the channel with a flotilla of eight British mine-sweepers, acting with the permission of the Central Mine Clearance Board. The sweep turned up 22 moored mines, two of which were taken to Malta for examination by neutral experts. The mines were found to be of German

manufacture, free of marine growth and still containing grease on their mooring cables. The inference was that the mines, left over from the German occupation, had been laid only a short time before the incident.

Albania protested that the mine-sweeping was in violation of her territorial sovereignty and again denied responsibility for the explosion. She pointed out that she had no equipment for mine-laying or mine-sweeping; that this had been the ostensible reason for excluding her from the Mediterranean Mine Clearance Board, of which the Big Four, Greece and Yugoslavia are members. But it also left Albania open to British charges that a few mine experts from Yugoslavia could have done the job; that the mines were laid within a few hundred yards of Albanian shore batteries and Albania must thus have known about them.

BY THE time the case finally came up before the Security Council, everyone was completely lost in a maze of charges and counter-charges: that Albania had fired on British ships last May; that she had fired on an undefended UNRRA relief tug seven days after the mine incident; that she had refused two US destroyers permission to dock to prevent their noticing ships and mine-laying equipment in Albanian harbors; that Colonel Hoxha has an army in southern Albania composed of 100,000 anti-British and anti-US fighters; that Britain has consistently used her navy to intimidate Albania; that Britain has sought to draw fire from Albanian shore batteries in order to discredit Albania; that Britain has sent planes over Albania in violation of territorial sovereignty; that Greece had a hand in laying the mines. The only things that seemed perfectly clear were that an incident had occurred and that the real trouble involved the clash between Britain's attempt to preserve her lifeline in the Mediterranean and Russia's attempt to defend her political and economic interests in the Balkans.

Actually the Corfu incident is only a small part of the general problem. Andrei Gromyko may have minimized it too enthusiastically, but he had a point when he told the Security Council that 196 ships were damaged by mines between May and August of 1946 and that none of the countries involved was accused of an offense against humanity. "Probably such an idea never came to anybody's mind in connection with the other countries," he said, ignoring the charges in the current case of a deliberate action. "Meanwhile Great Britain does not see, for some reason or other, anything strange in ascribing such an accusation to Albania."

It is probable that Albania will be asked to make some compensation. It is equally probable that Britain, because of her actions in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, has done much to provoke unfriendly action.

The Security Council is still trying to decide what to do about it. It has set up a fact-finding board, as it did for the Spanish issue and again in the Balkan border disputes. Later it may refer the case to the International Court of Justice for legal clarification. In any case, the Council is running into its constant and apparently irreconcilable problem: that of attempting to decide one incident on its own merits without looking deeply into the cause for the dispute.

FOR any world authority to be successful it must "at the very least be democratic in the broadest sense . . . have and retain an overwhelming preponderance of military strength, and . . . somehow find a way of solving the nationalist problem," Andrew Boyd argues in *The United Nations Organization Handbook* (Pilot Press, \$2.50).

Writing from the point of view of one who served as interpreter and liaison officer during the early session of the UN, Boyd explains the UN Charter and the various branches of the organization clearly and simply. His material is well indexed and well organized and will be helpful to those who sometimes find the UN confusing. One warning stands out: UN members must accept responsibility in the spirit as well as the letter of the Charter.

JANE BEDELL



Labor



Labor-Legislation Headaches

FRESHMAN congressmen now puzzling their heads over what kind of labor legislation to support may learn by studying the brief history of the Virginia state statute on public-utility disputes.

The Virginia law, passed by the state legislature in January at the urgent request of Governor William M. Tuck, virtually outlaws utility strikes. It provides jail sentences up to a year and fines up to \$1,000 for violation of its provisions. It approves what Governor Tuck last year, during a threatened utility strike, construed as his constitutional power to draft strikers into the militia and make them continue work under military discipline.

The law allows the Governor, in the event of a strike, to seize a utility. He would be authorized to offer the workers, in advance of the walkout, continuation in their jobs. If they chose not to continue, then the jobs would be filled with strike-breakers, and it would be illegal for any union or union spokesman to "interfere with or obstruct" the Governor in recruiting strike-breakers, or union members themselves, as employees. An advertisement expressing the union viewpoint, or a picket line "near or adjacent to" utility work would be considered obstruction. When and if the union and the utility ever reached an agreement, the commonwealth of Virginia would surrender the property and turn over to the company 85 percent of the net income received during the state's operations.

This is the most extreme law on utility-labor disputes in the country. Its "separability" clause, designed to save some sections in the event other sections are declared unconstitutional, provides that a court decision ruling the law illegal in one case shall not apply to other cases. Labor unions, including the independent Federation of Telephone Workers, vainly protested the bill while it was pending in Richmond.

Yet the Federation of Telephone Workers was the first group to invoke provisions of the Virginia statute and call on Governor Tuck to take action. The telephone workers demanded wage and working-condition adjustments from the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, an affiliate of AT and T. After the first two-day bargaining session, when the company had made no counter offers, the union charged the management with bad faith and demanded that Governor Tuck intervene.

The telephone union probably would not have gained much if Governor Tuck had officially recognized the dispute. The law is heavily slanted against economic self-defense by workers. But the curious thing is that, having demanded the statute, the Governor showed little desire to apply its provisions in this case. He called the parties together, lectured the union officials, but otherwise kept hands off. The union agreed to withdraw charges of bad faith if the company would sit down and talk, so negotiations were reopened.

The moral seems to be that enactment of stringent compulsory-arbitration and anti-strike legislation is no substitute for collective bargaining. The Virginia statute presumably will be tested in court at some future date, at which time it will be decided whether the fact that workers are employed by a utility robs them of basic civil rights.

WHEN Paul G. Hoffman and Eric Johnston held a press conference to explain Committee for Economic Development recommendations on labor legislation, the conference was thoroughly covered by newsreel cameramen. This may not be unconnected with the fact that Johnston, in addition to heading the CED special committee to draft a statement on labor, is "czar" of the Hollywood movie industry.

The CED was considerably more cautious in its proposals than such old-line businessmen's groups as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the US. It

carefully refrained (pending further study) from any recommendations on industrywide bargaining and the closed shop. Generally speaking, its proposals called for compulsory mediation of disputes plus compulsory arbitration of contract interpretations.

A strengthened federal mediation service has been advocated by virtually every top union-management group which has studied the problem. Whether this mediation service should be taken out of the Department of Labor is, however, a matter of dispute. The CED thinks a new board, within the department only for bookkeeping purposes, should be expanded to foster local and state mediation and serve disputants directly if no such local service exists.

The general principle of government mediation, as distinguished from compulsory arbitration, is increasingly accepted. Some industrial-relations authorities, however, warn that too formal a mediation organization will work as badly as other forms of government intervention in collective bargaining. Their theory is that, when machinery is furnished to which labor and management must resort, the tendency is to use this machinery to escape responsibility for decisions which should be made by the parties directly concerned.

THAT gleam in the collective eye of the CIO, as it contemplated discussion of "unified action" with the AFL against anti-labor bills, faded perceptibly as AFL President William Green treated the latest CIO communication as a "rejection" of AFL counter-proposals. But the possibility of some vague discussions remained: Green's letter was scheduled for consideration at the CIO Executive Board meeting March 11, and Green told reporters that a "remote" chance of merger existed.

"Remote" was a word exactly chosen. The plain fact, as stated here last week, is that the union bureaucracies cannot or will not at present work out a merger plan. As Green himself said, "The rank and file want merger," but they won't get merger until the top bureaucrats stop competing for prestige and power and develop the habit of working together. WILLARD SHELTON



Farm



Soil and Disease

CONGRESS has just rushed through legislation giving the Department of Agriculture authority to help Mexico stamp out the cattle foot-and-mouth disease which is creeping north and is now about 300 miles from the US border. There have been reports recently of a proposal to build a 1,900-mile fence along the US-Mexican border to facilitate existing quarantine regulations, though it is doubtful that this measure would have much real quarantine value. This disease, because of its highly infectious nature and because of our integrated transportation systems, threatens the entire cattle and dairy industry of the country.

Dr. H. W. Schoening, head of the Pathological Division of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, tells me there is no effective way to fight it except by quarantine and slaughter and that if it spread over wide areas, its economic cost would be tremendous. In 1920, the disease cost Switzerland \$70 million; America's cattle and dairy industry today is 50 times as large as Switzerland's was then.

Sir Albert Howard, author of a recently published book (*Soil and Health*, Devin-Adair, New York, 1947), disagrees. Sir Albert says that herds should not be slaughtered and that if dairymen would quit using artificial fertilizer in the production of their feed, their animals would not catch the foot-and-mouth disease. Experiments over a period of 26 years have convinced Sir Albert that the cause not only of this disease but of many others, lies in the use of artificial fertilizer. Keep your animals well, says Sir Albert, by feeding them from soil well stocked with humus. He says that he tried unsuccessfully to infect his oxen with the foot-and-mouth disease by rubbing their noses against those of diseased animals and by grazing them in common pastures.

Sir Albert Howard belongs to the group of "organic" farmers and garden-

ers which includes Lady Eve Balfour (*The Living Soil*, Faber, London, 1943) and J. I. Rodale, editor of *Organic Gardening* (*Pay Dirt*, Devin-Adair, 1945). Some of the writers in this group differ on details, but they agree on the one fundamental principle that all wastes, animal and vegetable, must be returned to the earth. They maintain that artificial fertilizer causes diseases in plants, animals and men, and that the remedy is a humus-filled soil.

Sir Albert cites several examples of how this theory worked on people. Dr. G. B. Chapman conducted a feeding experiment at the Mount Albert Grammar School in Auckland, New Zealand. Sixty boys, most of whom were sick, were fed humus-produced food. After a year they were all well. In Singapore, the Health Department experimented with coolies. The natives were required to eat only home-grown vegetables raised with natural fertilizer. Result: disease practically disappeared.

Another writer attributes the incidence of multiple sclerosis (this ranks next to infantile paralysis in the United States as a killer) to artificial fertilizer. In countries where such fertilizer is used, the disease is common; in China, where no artificial fertilizer is used and where all wastes are returned to the soil, it is unknown. Multiple sclerosis is especially common in Germany and this writer claims that it appeared there in 1840 at about the time Liebig's artificial fertilizers were beginning to be extensively used.

WHAT is one to make of all this, and if the theory is true, why aren't we all sick, since everyone eats food produced by artificial fertilizer?

The answer is that although scientists realize that heavy doses of artificial fertilizer may cause deficiencies of some minerals which exist in the soil, they do not generally attribute disease to the use of artificial fertilizer. Scientists in the Department of Agriculture who have been doing research on animal disease for many years deny that feed

from humus-filled soil will cure or prevent foot-and-mouth disease.

When I told him about Sir Albert's "cure," Dr. Schoening said, "It takes a highly trained specialist to recognize the virus. What Sir Albert thought was foot-and-mouth disease might not have been that at all. Again, some cattle, especially those which have had the disease, have a very high resistance to it."

Evidence does not support Sir Albert's theory that disease is simply a problem of malnutrition. Well fed pedigreed animals seem to be more susceptible to foot-and-mouth and other diseases than cattle suffering from malnutrition. In general, proper food will bring about better health, but it is not necessarily insurance against stock's catching a highly infectious disease.

Mineral deficiencies, which do cause disease, may in some instances be brought about by an overdose of artificial fertilizer. Scientists believe that a mineral deficiency which produces grass tetany—prevalent in the Northeast—may be caused by intensive fertilization with nitrogen, potash and phosphate.

THERE seems little doubt that some farmers have leaned too heavily on artificial fertilizer. Humus is of great importance and no soil can remain fertile without it. But there is no reason why artificial fertilizer should not be used in conjunction with a liberal supply of humus. Some soils in their virgin state need chemicals and will not produce unless an artificial substance is used. It is a mistake to think that nature always knows best.

Nobody denies that natural fertilizer is good and that it should be produced in as large quantities as possible. But it is a pity that enthusiasts like Sir Albert Howard, in pushing a good idea, have to claim that it is an answer to practically all of the ills of mankind.

As far as the treatment and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease is concerned, those in the beef and dairy-cattle industry, as well as those eating meat and drinking milk, may rest assured that the government is going to quarantine and slaughter every diseased and exposed animal it can lay its hands on.

ANGUS McDONALD



Books

*The Wayward Steinbeck*

THERE used to be a foolish suspicion prevalent that drama critics got together between the acts of a play to decide what their verdict on it was going to be. Provided any reader ever held an equally nonsensical idea about book reviewers, it must have been quite a revelation to him if he read the journalistic comments on John Steinbeck's new novel, *The Wayward Bus* (Viking, \$2.75) and noted the gamut of opinion that ran from Harrison Smith's enthusiasm in the *Saturday Review* to Malcolm Cowley's chill observations in *PM*, from Lewis Gannett's conviction in the *New York Herald Tribune* that it was one of its author's sturdiest achievements to Orville Prescott's suspicion in the *New York Times* that it was bad enough to make one doubt whether Steinbeck ever had any talent at all.

This is not, it may be remembered, the first time that a Steinbeck work has caused vigorous disagreement among critics. In the case of *The Moon Is Down*, however, the controversy was based rather more on war issues than on literary merit, and involved reviewers of both books and plays. On the whole, the novel about the Nazi invasion of Norway was first received with praise and only a few violent dissenters like James Thurber and Clifton Fadiman objected to its political aspects. But by the time it had reached Broadway as a play, the majority critical comment was against it, considering its German officers too susceptible to human feelings and the passive resistance in it too glowing, and it was soon a theatrical failure.

The matter of the varied and frequently unfriendly critical attitude toward Steinbeck's works is of importance because it supplies one clue to his standing as an American writer. It is certainly not remarkable to find novels that have been roundly condemned achieving tremendous popular success, but it is a little more striking to

find books and plays that are critically pilloried for soggy sentimentality later accepted, by the public and a fair section of the critics, as something close to classics in their field.

It is an impressive accomplishment for an author, and the Steinbeck record in this respect is clear: *The Moon Is Down*, which was often regarded as a shallowly sentimental libel on the Norwegian resistance movement, became a treasured document among resistance movements throughout Nazi-occupied Europe. Steinbeck was officially honored in Norway for his tribute to the national heroism, while *Tortilla Flat*, *In Dubious Battle*, *The Grapes of Wrath* and *The Red Pony*, which were received with hearty charges of immature sentimentality mixed with the majority critical praise, are now recognized additions to modern American literature. And the dramatic version of *Of Mice and Men* is one of the realistic masterpieces of the American theatre, as well as one of the few motion pictures of genuine quality. This reviewer can attest that during the recent war Steinbeck was one of the three or four American authors, along with O'Neill and Hemingway,



Courtesy Viking Press

JOHN STEINBECK

that the intellectuals of embattled Chungking and neutral Dublin wanted most to find out about.

OF COURSE, the fact that some of Steinbeck's earlier books have come to be regarded as approaching classic status in their field, despite their detractors, doesn't indicate that the more unfriendly critics are wrong about his latest novel. It merely means that one of the qualities which makes his fiction important is its capacity for taking the ordinary struggles of ordinary people in some period of modern emotional and social strain, giving them moral import and significance and, without losing their realistic simplicity, capturing a quality that makes them at once symbolic, poetic and, at best, of an almost epic nature. Thus his most significant works, *The Grapes of Wrath*, *In Dubious Battle*, *Of Mice and Men*, become, among other things, symbolic epics of characteristic phases of American social maladjustment. They are set down with such emotional forcefulness that defects of sentimentality, untidiness and extravagance cannot interfere with their essential integrity. If these books are more successful than *The Moon Is Down*, it is in part because the essential Steinbeck quality is so indigenously American, in characterization, physical setting and mind and emotion, that anything of his which strives to deal with other lands suffers from absence of the soil that nourishes his writing and gives it its spirit.

Yet *The Wayward Bus*, which is completely indigenous, lacks something of the quality of his major works, although in one way it probably marks an advance: the sentimentality is missing. The new novel possesses many characteristic virtues. Its prose is as lean, vigorous and direct as ever; its dialogue, its descriptions of people, places and things and its revelation of a great natural gift for narration are as distinctive and impressive as before. The perhaps less important, but not-to-be-ignored, quality of being immensely readable is always present. The physical feeling for America is there, as well as the rootlessness, inner loneliness and neurotic discontent which Steinbeck sees as melancholy symptoms of a national

ailment. The plot device about widely disparate people, unexpectedly thrown together on an adventure, has been a familiar one from the time of Boccaccio and Chaucer to Vicki Baum and Thornton Wilder, but it is purposely familiar and effectively handled. And the characters are interestingly assorted; Camille, the girl with the fatal lure for men, is one of the author's most engaging creations.

If the final effect, although it makes for a striking novel, is less than completely satisfying, it is in great part because we had come to expect another major Steinbeck advance in breadth and power, such as was marked in turn by *In Dubious Battle* and *The Grapes of Wrath*, while *The Wayward Bus* does not reveal such development. Furthermore, the central character of Juan Chicoy, the Irish-Mexican "natural man," does not quite come off, and the climax somehow lacks the expected dramatic force. But there is enough in the novel to make one anticipate Steinbeck's next book as hopefully and eagerly as this was awaited. His is a notable American talent. RICHARD WATTS JR.

Front-line Fighter

THE BIG YANKEE: *The Life of Carlson of the Raiders*, by Michael Blankfort (Little, Brown, \$4), is a full-length portrait of Brigadier General Evans F. Carlson, one of the most impressive contemporary Americans. It is not only the odyssey of a traditional American through 50 years of a world in torment, but it is a courageous and dramatic story of Carlson's evolution from an unthinking reactionary into a militant progressive.

Much of the book is written as if the author had worked with a moving-picture camera, going swiftly from scene to scene, never pleading for his central figure nor for the countless men who swarm about, but allowing them instead to act out their destinies in their own way. Thus, Carlson's Raiders at Makin Island almost step out of the book and relive their lives, talking, fighting, blaspheming and dying. As one raider struggled in the sea and went under, Carlson heard his cries: "God in heaven! God in heaven! What am I doing here?"



Courtesy Little, Brown

EVANS CARLSON

Carlson's character and his deeply integrated Christian beliefs are traced to his childhood in New England. (His father was a pastor of Norwegian immigrant stock; his mother an Evans from Virginia.) At 16 the boy ran away from home and joined the Army, was sent to the Philippines and, during the First World War, to Europe—where he inveighed against "the bloody Bolsheviks," the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, but praised "the practical Clemenceau" and the Treaty of Versailles.

Joining the Marine Corps after the war, he became an officer and swanked in the reactionary atmosphere of Quantico, where it was bad form to think. He fought Sandino's guerrillas for American business interests in the twenties, and early in 1927 landed with the Marines in Shanghai to teach the Chinese to respect the master race. A ruthless imperialist, he raided the poor rooms of Chinese revolutionaries and urged armed intervention and the occupation of Chinese cities. Meanwhile, he went to church, sang hymns, prayed, talked morality, improved his grammar—and for 12 years served as Marine Intelligence Officer in China. Even after the storm clouds of the Second World War began to burst in various parts of the world, including Manchuria in 1931, history and the masses of men who make history passed him by.

After 1933 his reactionary outlook began to crack under the impact of world events and the influence of men like Admiral Mark Bristol and Edgar Snow. Snow's *Red Star Over China* tore a few holes in the pattern of Carlson's thought in 1936, and six months after Japan invaded China he appeared at the headquarters of the Communist-commanded Eighth Route Army in Shansi Province and was permitted to live and travel with its troops in the field as they fought the Japanese.

Chinese Communists rubbed off such reactionary varnish as was left on him. There then remained his basic Christian beliefs and the traditions of American democracy. As with many other Americans, he saw the Chinese Communists as a revolutionary democratic army of liberation that was practising the brotherhood of man. A shrewd, intelligent military man, he also saw the nature of Japanese fascism—and learned of its plans to attack America.

In late 1938 his efforts to inform Americans of what he had learned led to secret Japanese protests in Washington, after which he was threatened with court martial if he said another word. He resigned in disgust from the Marine Corps and for the next two and a half years wrote two books and stumped America in a vain effort to arouse our people to the criminal practice of supplying Japan with war materials. Big executives informed him that they were interested in nothing but returns on their investments "today."

Rejoining the Marines shortly before Pearl Harbor, he organized and trained his famous Raider Battalion which practised what he had learned in China and what he believed about American democracy. For this, he was removed from command of his Raiders after Guadalcanal—the hitherto undisclosed story of this incident is given in full in this book.

After serving in some of the bloodiest battles in the Pacific, Carlson was so badly wounded at Saipan as to maim him for life. Incapacitated for military service, he soon began campaigning in America in an effort to weld our people into a force strong enough to realize our proclaimed war aims and a lasting peace. He was a candidate for Senator

rom California in the last election, but was suddenly stricken with angina pectoris, from which he has not yet recovered.

The picture that finally emerges from his biography of Carlson is of a man of action, a fearless warrior in both military and civilian life whose basic Christianity has evolved into more universal democratic consciousness. It is a picture of a man of marvelous simplicity and humility who has grown in political stature with each passing year, a man of incorruptible integrity—a kind of composite twentieth-century John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison. The book is courageous in exposing many evils and "secrets" which our own and the Chinese ruling class would rather have kept from the public. In this aspect it reminds one of *America's Siberian Adventure* by the late General William Graves, which exposed Allied intrigues against the Russian Revolution after the First World War.

AGNES SMEDLEY

The Man of the Century

ON MERCER STREET in Princeton, New Jersey, lives the man of the century, Albert Einstein. He will be 68 on March 14, a day that will be better celebrated in future centuries than it is now. He has given mankind a new universe to live in, a new vision of eternity and infinity, new intellectual powers which brought the colossal power to annihilate matter and create energy, and through the atomic bomb changed the course of history for every human being.

All this and a host of lesser triumphs in science was done by an artist. His science is not observation and measurement, though based upon them. His is pure vision, the completely free imagination which transcends habitual reality, revalues time and space, matter and energy, creates them anew and lifts man's mind and spirit to new stature. Neither man nor the universe is the same since Einstein. His is the greatest of all arts; mathematics is only its instrument and science is its consequence.

Such a man deserves a profoundly understanding biography. It is not an easy task, for his inner intellectual life

is remote from human affairs, not understandable in common terms. Yet that life was conditioned by the world about him. And recognition came at the height of his power, so that he became a living symbol. The world acclaimed his achievement, his own ancestral group, Jewish, made him a standard-bearer in spite of himself, and for that his own government, Germany, reviled him and drove him into exile. The world's momentary turmoil, the greatest war, the atom bomb itself, are in shocking contrast to his preoccupation with eternal values. The work itself has been well recorded, especially by H. Gordon Garbedian in 1939.

Now Philipp Frank has written a revealing story that relates his life and his times (*Einstein, His Life and Times*, Knopf, \$4.50). Dr. Frank succeeded Einstein as professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Prague in 1912, has worked closely and long with Einstein, and in 1938 followed Einstein to the United States, found a haven at Harvard University as lecturer in Relativity and the Philosophy of Science. His intimate knowledge of life in the European universities, his own adventures in the historic upheaval of German culture, combined with his knowledge of physics and his intimacy with Einstein, make him the ideal biographer. Just as fitting is the fact that the revision and editing of the German text were entrusted to Shuichi Kusaka, an American-born Japanese instructor in

physics at Princeton. The result is a wise, definitive story of Einstein and of his relation to his time.

The discussion of Einstein's revolutionary theory is kept to a minimum but is used to explain his career. The book is luminous with Einstein's personality and his laughter. Though he was born in Germany in 1879, he studied at Zurich and became a Swiss citizen. His first employment was as a clerk in the patent office at Bern when he was 21, penniless, and married to a fellow student, Mileva Maritsch, a Hungarian of Serbian ancestry. At Bern he did his great work on the "special theory" of relativity, published in 1905. It brought him a professorship at the University of Zurich in 1909. A year later he was appointed full professor at the German University in Prague. There he encountered for the first time the conflict of peoples, Czech, German and Jewish, and for the first time had to register formally a fact of which he was scarcely aware, that his official religion was "Mosaic." But he had little interest in the Jewish community and none in the new Zionist movement.

After another brief interval at Zurich, from 1912 to 1913, he took up his life work as professor at the University of Berlin at the age of 34. He left his first wife in Switzerland with their son (now an engineer in the United States). During World War I he married his cousin, Elsa, a widow with two daughters, who later came to the United States with him. She died in 1936.

The "general theory" of relativity was published during the war and was experimentally confirmed in 1919. From that time on he was famous and had no peace. Perforce, he took a part in world affairs, even in Zionism. In 1933, the Nazi movement made further life in Germany impossible. His Berlin professorship had lasted twenty years when he came to the United States at the age of 54. Now, 13 years later, he has already retired from the Institute for Advanced Study, but he continues the work which has made Princeton the Mount Olympus of the intellectual world.

This generation will remember Einstein because it was he who convinced President Roosevelt that the atomic bomb could and must be made because



Drawing by Seligson

ALBERT EINSTEIN

the Nazis were at work on it. But for future generations, Dr. Frank inscribed his book with a far more characteristic phrase of Einstein's: "The most incomprehensible thing about the world is that it is comprehensible."

GERALD WENDT

Crime and Punishment

Disposing of Henry, by Roger Bax (Harpers, \$2.50). A supplement to the fare of mass-produced, synthetic detective stories is long overdue, and Harpers' new policy of publishing psychological murder novels, with emphasis on motive rather than how the criminal got out of the sealed room, is off to a good start. Roger Bax's story of an adventuress and her lover, who plan—and carry out—a practically foolproof method of ridding themselves of her inconvenient but very rich husband, makes absorbing reading. And if the local British constabulary hadn't been students of character, the pair might have got away with it.

Death of a Doll, by Hilda Lawrence (Simon and Schuster, \$2.50). Ruth Miller's death at Hope House, a home for working girls, would have passed as accident or suicide had it not been for Mrs. Nicholas Sutton. Wealthy Mrs. Sutton had grown fond of the young sales clerk, and persuaded her clever detective friend, Mark East, to look into what happened at the Christmas masquerade (the girls went dressed as rag dolls) during which Ruth died. East soon realizes he is dealing with murder, and Miss Lawrence skillfully juggles suspects for the next 150 pages. For all its slickness, this is a sad come-down from *The Pavilion*.

Murder Miscellany.—Recent better-than-average items are: *The Body Missed the Boat*, by Jack Iams (Morrow, \$2.50); *The Sleeping Sphinx*, by John Dickson Carr (Harpers, \$2.50); and *With Intent to Deceive*, by Manning Coles (Crime Club, \$2). Those who missed *Harriet*, by Elizabeth Jenkins, when it came out in 1934, now have a chance to read this excellent fictionalized account of a famous British murder case in a Bantam Book reprint (25 cents).

E.H.



Music



Rights of Privacy

SERGE KOUSSEVITZKY's \$500,000 libel suit against Moses Smith, author of the book, *Koussevitzky*, and the publishing firm of Allen, Towne and Heath indirectly involves everyone who writes or publishes books or articles dealing with any living celebrity.

In granting a court order restraining publication and distribution of the book, New York Supreme Court Justice Bernard L. Shientag predicted that the suit will establish a precedent indicating whether a biography may be published without the consent of the subject. The range of Koussevitzky's legal objections suggests, however, that the controversy may involve other and broader considerations than the one pointed out by Justice Shientag. The suit rests on three charges—that the book is libelous, in that it depicts the conductor's life and career "falsely and wrongfully"; that the publication of the text without Koussevitzky's consent constitutes a violation of the "rights-of-privacy" law, designed to protect individuals from the unauthorized use of their names for commercial purposes; and that the inclusion of unauthorized photographs constitutes a similar infringement.

Although I have read the book, I am not entitled to venture an estimate of its accuracy and critical perspective, lest I seem to be prejudging questions which will come before the court. But this very requirement of silence on my part, and on the part of others who might like to review the book, emphasizes the most far-reaching issue raised, or at least implied, by Koussevitzky's suit: Has a critic (and Smith is a recognized professional music critic with many years' experience on Boston papers) the right to express opinions about the professional—not the personal—aspects of an artist's career without asking the artist's permission to do so? If Smith has made errors of fact or interpretation which discredit Koussevitzky, his book will in due course be found libelous. Much subtler and more

subject to debatable evaluation are the author's opinions about Koussevitzky's merits and deficiencies as a musician. If the court should find that Smith's critical judgments—as distinct from statements of alleged fact and analyses of actions and motives—amounted to violations of Koussevitzky's "rights of privacy," all independent musical criticism would be threatened, and with it all uninfluenced reviewing of books, plays, paintings, movies and phonograph records.

Any outcome of Koussevitzky's suit which even hinted at restraint upon free and reputable critical expression would more than counterbalance all the notable achievements of the Boston conductor's long and distinguished American career. Unhampered critical give-and-take is a fundamental requisite of the democratic growth of the arts. A continuing demonstration of competence—a matter of Olympian ease for Koussevitzky—should provide a more attractive answer to all slurs, real or fancied, than a repressive court action.

ALTHOUGH two of Gian-Carlo Menotti's operas have been produced at the Metropolitan, his growing reputation rests primarily upon his flair for writing operas suited to the resources of less pretentious institutions. "The Old Maid and the Thief" has already been staged successfully in several cities, and "The Medium"—first given at Columbia University last May—is likely to prove attractive to the rapidly increasing number of school and civic opera groups scattered across the country.

A fortnight ago the Ballet Society, in its first operatic bill, presented the first performance of Menotti's fifth lyric work, "The Telephone," a 30-minute, two-character farce. The première was coupled with a revised version of "The Medium," presented under the adroit stage direction of the composer and invested with a setting by Horace Armistead—a sick-looking, gnarled, pewter-colored interior which dissolved on occasion into streamers of ectoplasm.

The trifling but neatly turned plot of *The Telephone* recounts Ben's fruitless endeavor to stop Lucy's gossiping over the telephone for a sufficient time to enable him to propose to her. In final desperation he retires to the corner phone booth, and succeeds in winning her hand from that point of vantage. The music ripples along gayly with a constant fund of bright, Italianate melody, but in general the score, while good fun, does not appear to be the product of much thought.

"The Medium," an eerie psychological thriller, remains a more substantial work and one likely to interest audiences generally. The music has many good moments; on the whole, however, it lacks the sharp rhythmic definition and cumulative intensity of structure which are important means of reinforcing dramatic situations in opera.

MOST piano concertos seem to be recorded nowadays with the intention of transforming the soloist into a Superman of the keyboard, able to dominate and even obscure an orchestra of a hundred men. The most recent triumph of electrical rhetoric in this field is William Kapell's performance of the flatulent Khatchaturian concerto (Victor No. DM-1084; four 12-inch records, \$5.09). The young pianist lights into the music with an eager intensity and a breakneck speed which are less a pleasure to the listener than a drain on his nervous system. Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony let him lead the way, meanwhile providing an emotionalized accompaniment, full of the high frequencies which make an ordinary phonograph screech when it is supposed to sound eloquent.

A much more accurate and creditable impression of the way a work for piano ought to sound is given by Rudolf Serkin, with Fritz Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, in the first Brahms concerto, in D minor (Columbia, No. MM-652; six 12-inch records, \$6.85). Orchestra and piano do not compete: they cooperate. Only toward the end of the last movement does Serkin lapse into his recently acquired habit of courting applause by playing a fast finale too fast.

CECIL SMITH



Movies



Great Expectations

OF THE many movies that have been made from Dickens' novels, "Great Expectations," filmed in England by Cineguild and starring John Mills, has more of the flavor and feeling of the original than any I've seen.

Although this particular story has been made twice before, and about five of his other novels have been filmed, there has been no serious attempt to adapt Dickens to the screen since "David Copperfield" and "A Tale of Two Cities" were produced in this country 10 years ago. This is surprising in view of the fact that Dickens' books lend themselves almost automatically to the scenarist. Plots and counterplots, color, incident, adventure, love, and his two favorites, cupidity and coincidence, are to be found in abundance in the master's novels.

This new film is made with great care and taste—almost lovingly. The English do period movies better than we do. There is a slick, expensive perfection about Hollywood costume plays that asks to be looked at and that reduces the performers, however competent, to a kind of puppetry. In the English movies the locales, the sets, and particularly the costumes, even after the research departments are through with them, seem so real, so commonplace even, that you are not conscious of extras parading before canvas-and-lath sets in getups hired for the day.

"Great Expectations" has, in proportion to its length, as many characters as the book. Most of them are strange, and their fates are both involved and inevitable. The direction, photography and sound-effects, particularly in the opening scenes of horror that condition the life of the boy, Pip, are excellent. They terrified me. Accompanied by the awful sound an evil wind can make, and with the clank of prisoners' chains in his ears, poor threatened Pip makes his way home across what must be the coldest, most desolate plain in England.

The child who plays Pip is 13-year-

old Anthony Wager. Mercifully, he is not unnaturally beautiful, but he has a handsome face that is at the same time responsive. He has talent and grace and gives a perfect performance. His childhood friend, Estella, is played by Jean Simmons with a beauty and a cruelty that are impressive. She is so pretty and so mean that she almost effaces the venerable neurotic lady surrounded by cobwebs who, in decadent grandeur, teaches her ward to make men suffer. She starts young, this girl, and keeps it up for a long time, and Jean Simmons should, and probably will, be a sensation. When they are grown up, these two are played by John Mills ("In Which We Serve") and Valerie Hobson. They are, naturally enough, as good as the children, though not so spectacularly so.

David Lean, who adapted and directed "Great Expectations," is responsible previously for the direction of "Blithe Spirit," "Brief Encounter" and "This Happy Breed," and should require no further recommendation.

THE film about the atomic bomb, "The Beginning or the End," to anyone who has read much about it, starts out with two strikes against it. It has had too much excited advance publicity. In New York it was previewed and talked about so often that for a long time, when anyone disappeared for an afternoon, it was taken for granted that he was seeing a screening of "The Beginning or the End." I've tried since last spring not to listen to stories about its manufacture or significance, and can report that I succeeded to the extent of knowing little about it, except that it was opening at a big movie house. On a slushy Monday noon, the fourth day it was shown publicly in New York, I stood in line with more servicemen than I have seen in a year, to wait my turn to buy tickets for "the bomb picture." An usher told me she had never seen such crowds on a Monday.

It soon became evident that Metro-

Goldwyn-Mayer, big as *they* are, when faced with making a movie about the most monumental subject of the age, could only picture it in a simple story form. What they have attempted is to give ordinary people at least a vague idea of the magnitude of the responsibility that has been thrust upon us all. It is not the best movie that will be made on atomic energy, but it is a good try at breaking difficult ground.

It has been criticized by one reviewer as follows: "Nor . . . did it evidence any more than a miniature span of the full and conglomerate immensity of atomic power—not any more than a mawkish estimation in routine emotional terms of the crashing impact of this discovery upon the naked spirit of man." I don't quite understand all of that, but I think it is as if the geniuses of several nations had discovered a new form of death and life, and the intellectuals, not being scientists, were to say "All right, in one movie, tell us *all* about this Thing and what may come of it. Make it thorough, make it quick, and make it art."

IT WOULD be more than gratifying if Hollywood had done as fine and dignified a job with "The Beginning or the End" as the American Broadcasting Company did on the air with John Hersey's story of the bombing of Hiroshima, but progress is slow, and I am not unreasonable enough to expect such a thing. The factual, scientific part of the movie, which must seem very sketchy to the experts, was exciting to me. I didn't know that workers, as they left the various plants, were frisked, as it were, for signs of radioactivity by a machine. If a man was suspect, the machine made alarming noises, and went crazy flashing lights, and off he went to the hospital.

The love stories of the two very young men are strictly Grade B. The boys are played by Tom Drake and Robert Walker, neither of whom I'd trust to fix my ironing cord. Brian Donlevy plays General Groves, who is probably a little startled at his image, which is young, debonair and singularly untouched by the ravages of finding, spending and caring for billions of dollars. The scientists are well cast and well played.

SHIRLEY O'HARA



Theatre



Experimental Theatre Again

THE WANHOPE BUILDING," by John Finch, was sponsored by Theatre, Incorporated, and as I said last week, was worth doing by the Experimental Theatre, Inc. The new production, "O'Daniel," by Glendon Swarthout and John Savacool, supervised by the Theatre Guild, is even more worth doing. In its present state it is not ready for Broadway, but it is a most interesting play, somewhat rambling for the earlier part and then picking up into genuine dramatic urgency and at times even power. There is in the hero such a combination of opportunism and idealistic humility, of the gift for passionate love and a growing trend toward sheer career-making, of lasting adolescence that fools itself and often defeats others, of hardness and voluble egotism, that even the authors have not been able to express the full meaning.

In the Army O'Daniel has wangled himself into soft places, running the mimeographed newssheet, for example. After the war, he thinks up a scheme for a magazine in which veterans can air their complaints. The magazine, which he calls *GI*, is an overpowering success, with a circulation of seven million. In a year he has consolidated all the veterans' organizations, from the First World War as well as the Second, and 15 million men and women are with him. He finally feels himself worthy to marry a rich girl, high-minded and straight as the wife in "State of the Union," higher-minded and straighter in fact. She tries to lead him from the exploitation of the veterans' complaints and threatened violence to telling them that they should be the leaders and new army of their great country. She has a great deal to say on the subject, sometimes tediously, I am afraid. It all winds up, in 1952, with O'Daniel's nomination for the presidency, on the Republican ticket.

The authors have not worked out this story completely, certainly not into the

scenes, which tend too often to be explosive or external. To some extent this is probably due to the director, Paul Crabtree, though he has done an energetic and vigorous job. Some of it is without doubt due to Walter Coy, the actor who plays O'Daniel. He gives an unusually good performance, but it is too monotonously restless and violent or explosive. Some of the more subtle points inherent in the character and in the motivations given him as he grows from what he has been into what he will become, have thus no chance to appear. Jack Manning, as Lee, O'Daniel's faithful friend, plays excellently a grateful role, well written and lively. Ann Burr, as the wife, plays well enough despite a voice badly off its right place though now and then effectively so.

The theme of what the veterans could unite to do for their country instead of uniting to force their demands on the country, has today a certain stirring point to it, though the presentation of this point by O'Daniel's wife does not carry us very far. The play is written vigorously and if it is too long by some minutes, and if the production is often too noisy and restless, it should in all fairness be said that these defects might conceivably be a good deal remedied by the repeated performances the regular theatre could give it.

AS TO the Experimental Theatre, Inc., Rosamond Gilder, editor of *Theatre Arts* and secretary of the American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA), who brought to the cause her great range of theatre knowledge and her distinguished critical sense, has said that the crying need for an experimental theatre in New York has long been evident to anyone who cares about the future of our stage; that the theatre as organized today does not permit the flowering of such groups as the Provincetown or the early Theatre Guild; and that as a result a young playwright, unless he can write a play which will be likely to pay off at the box office, has no chance to see

his work in the only place where it means anything.

In 1940 there was a concerted effort to set up a research laboratory. The Actors' Equity and the Dramatists' Guild established the Experimental Theatre, Inc., and with the help of ANTA produced six plays. Last August the plan was revived, under the leadership of Maxwell Anderson of the Playwrights' Company, Cheryl Crawford of the American Repertory Theatre, Norris Houghton of Theatre, Incorporated, George Freedley of the Equity-Library Theatre, Theresa Helburn of the Theatre Guild, Richard Rodgers of the Dramatists' Guild and Robert Breen and Margaret Webster of ANTA. Memberships, at \$15, are limited to 1,500 by the size of the Princess Theatre. No payment is made to the playwrights, and the actors get a minimum salary. The theatre craft unions have made definite concessions. Each of the five plays for this season is to be presented by a sponsoring organization, and the amount of the subscriptions is to be budgeted among these five productions. The script of a play is not to be owned by any producer, so that this is not a matter of economical tryouts. Any producer can buy the play for \$500 plus one percent on the gross and five percent on the secondary rights.

IT seems generally agreed that Donald Wolfitt and his company have been somewhat more acceptable in the plays which followed their disastrous "King Lear." "As You Like It," "The Merchant of Venice" and "Volpone" appear to have been better received, with "Volpone" leading. Audiences were not familiar with the Ben Jonson play, had no preconceived idea of what it should be like and did not care much anyway, since it was a spirited old piece. As to the "Hamlet" (Century Theatre), I can only say that I was astonished at how entirely unsatisfactory it was. You can see that Donald Wolfitt is genuinely sincere in his interest in the play, so that it seems unkind to say that he never approaches it, has no voice for it, has only surface effects, no poetic mood and no magnetism. The whole business makes up an unhappy, inexplicable event in our theatre. STARK YOUNG

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New Republic News



Shop Talk

IT's terrible how easily you can be misunderstood. We ran a paragraph here a couple of weeks ago, advising our would-be correspondents to write less on cosmic issues and more about what was going on in their own backyards. Now a reader sends a fairly impatient note telling us he doesn't want to write letters about trivia: he'd rather talk about "private economic power," the closed shop, various kinds of "curtains," communism, and, as he well puts it, "the eternal voice of impending doom." All we'd meant in our original suggestion was that the way NR operates we're likely to know something ourselves about the broad, obvious issues of the day, and almost certain to be overlooking small but indicative happenings among what people in New

York like to call the grassroots. This was really an appeal for editorial help from the country at large, but it wasn't intended as a gag law. If any of our readers want to talk about big things like impending doom we're here listening.

FOR those who like to know such things, we report that the *New Republic* first opened its doors on July 28, 1914. If that date seems vaguely familiar, it may be because it was also the day that Austria declared war on Serbia and thus opened the First World War. This bit of history, by the way, comes from "Pathfinders of American Liberalism: the Story of the *New Republic*," submitted as a senior thesis to the Princeton University Department of History in 1941. The author was William H. Attwood, now on the Paris staff

of the New York *Herald Tribune*, and his delving into our past is a work to which we shall probably refer again.

ONE of our editors received a business letter dated February 15, which began: "Dear Sir: We would like to talk to you some time, at your convenience, about an airplane—a plane of your own that solves your cross-country-transportation problems." He's been so busy since the middle of the month he hasn't been able to set up that appointment, but we've been having a lot of trouble with him recently in editorial conferences.

The New Republic is indebted to H. Bittner and Company, publishers, for permission to reproduce certain drawings from their books on Kaethe Kollwitz and George Grosz, and to the Dial Press for permission to reproduce from George Grosz's autobiography, "A Little Yes and a Big No." — THE EDITORS

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Assailed New Deal in '34.—*From the New York Times.*

Fancy-free Enterprise

This [railroad charge accounts] is a evolutionary innovation, but it reflects the genius which individuals display in the private management of great properties when confronted with problems of competition. No government agency in like circumstances could or would have thought of a like solution.—*From an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune.*

Altruism in Congress

I am in favor of keeping the United States a little higher than the rest of the world, so that we can help pull the others up. You can't do that if you stand on the same level.—The Reverend Earl C. Michener, Representative from Michigan.—*From the Portland, Oregon, Daily Journal.*

Proof Positive

While stipulating that he was not accusing the FCC of being communistic, Mr. Miller [Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters] mentioned that agency along with communistically inclined groups in the United States in its seeming dislike of advertising.—*From the New York Times.*

Nathan Report

Five monks who had demanded an increase in living allowances were evicted today from the ancient Muharrak Coptic Christian Monastery near Asyut, 250 miles south of here, after they had demanded that their monthly living allowance of \$12 be increased to \$20 and their annual clothing allowance of \$40 be increased to \$48. . . . The

five, described as leaders of a group of 80 monks, had maintained that the monastery could well afford the increases.—*AP dispatch from Cairo.*

Brotherhood-of-Man Department

The Georgia Senate today passed overwhelmingly the white-primary bill. An impassioned appeal for passage of the measure was made by Senator Vendie H. Hooks of Lexsy, a Baptist minister, who said its purpose was to "keep the Caucasian race pure" and that was according to "God's will."—*From the Albany (Georgia) Herald.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address *Bandwagon*, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Five Bombs Are Enough

SIR: By profession I am a water-supply engineer. My picture of an atomic war, if there should be one, is from that angle. To my way of thinking all talk about how someone would need 50, 100 or 200 A-bombs to annihilate our war-making potential is nonsense. I think that a maximum of, possibly, five Bikini-type bombs would do it.

One bomb exploded under water in the Columbia River above Grand Coulee, one in the northern end of Lake Michigan (or possibly in Lake Superior), one in any of the flood-control reservoirs on the Allegheny River, one in an upstream TVA reservoir and one in any of the water-supply reservoirs of New York City, or in the Hudson River just below Albany.

You will recall that, in an A-bomb explosion under water, the fission products and by-products, all of which yield hard radiation, proved to be more of a problem in Bikini than the direct results of the explosion. Besides its remoteness, probably the main reason for conducting the test in a lagoon was to confine these dangerous radioactive by-products. Yet, according to *Science Service*, only six days after the test, Geiger counters on the Pacific Coast were recording the fact that products of the Bikini test had arrived.

Had a bomb been exploded in, say, Lake Superior, I think that life on the entire Great Lakes shore line, including

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PAMPHLET

REPRINTS of James T. Farrell's article, "Cain's Movietone Realism," recommended by George Mayberry in The New Republic of February 17, can be secured by sending fifteen cents in postage or coins to Box 888, The New Republic.

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NEW REPUBLIC

the St. Lawrence River, would cease in a matter of weeks. This would result from the fact that all Great Lakes cities use the nearest lake as the source of public water supply. The lethal concentration of fission products might continue for as long as six or eight months after the atomic explosion. It is safe to say that such cities as Duluth, Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo and Toronto, as well as a number of others, would be mortally wounded within 100 hours of the explosion and would become ghost towns within a few weeks.

The Columbia River bomb would wreck life in the Pacific Northwest, the Allegheny bomb would destroy the populations of such cities as Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Wheeling, Cincinnati and Louisville by radioactive poisoning of their water supplies. The Tennessee River and New York reservoir bombs would make areas equally uninhabitable even though no one was hurt by the force of the explosion.

Up to this point I have only discussed the "drinking-water" effect of the bombs. As important are the "indirect" effects. For instance, water from the Great Lakes is evaporated and forms the source of some of the rain which falls in the Midwest. This radioactive rain, capable of destroying or changing plant and animal life, would be encountered for a long time after the A-bomb explosion. Radioactive fogs would be encountered near bombed rivers. The exact areas involved are difficult to predetermine, depending as they would upon climatic conditions prevailing when the bomb was detonated. . . .

RAPHAEL G. KAZMANN

Columbus, Ohio

The Problem of the Small Farm

SIR: I read with much interest and a good deal of sympathy Angus McDonald's comment [the *New Republic*, February 3] on the contrast offered by community life in small-farm areas and large, corporate-farm areas.

Costs seem to be the crux of small-farm difficulties over the years. . . .

I should like to see McDonald give some thought to the possibility of large-scale coöperative farming, with individual farmers still owning their farms. . . . The British government, for instance, is undertaking the development of 107 farms of 30,000 acres apiece for the mass production of peanuts alone in parts of Africa, as a means of solving a fats-and-oils shortage. This, of course, is a Socialist venture in a cheap-labor area. But if it works, it will be a sample of what our farmers will be up against in the years to come.

Chicago, Ill.

HORACE W. O'CONNOR

Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 3)

of Philippine economy to rehabilitate itself, the new republic finds itself between the devil of imperialist exploitation and the deep blue sea of bankruptcy. Powerful aid would be given by the Tydings Rehabilitation Act, also passed by the American Congress and providing a grant of \$400 million. The enactment of its provisions, however is contingent upon the acceptance of the Bell bill by the Philippine people.

The chief proponents of parity in the islands are enrolled in, or are supporters of, the Liberal Party of President Manuel Roxas. Its adherents include the dominant monopoly interests of Andres Soriano and the Elizalde family. Their arguments emphasize the immediate need for an influx of working capital to restore the wrecked Philippine economy.

The organized opposition to parity comes from the same loose coalition of forces that supported the candidacy of Sergio Osmeña against Roxas in the presidential contest of last April. This includes the Nacionalista Party, headed by Eulogio Rodriguez, Tomas Confesor and Tomas Cabili; the Democratic Alliance, headed by Judge Jesus Berrara; the Popular Front, led by Emilio N. Javier; and the Philippine Youth Party of Antonio Barredo. Expressions of anti-parity feeling have come also from the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila and from many civic, student and labor organizations. They argue that parity would mean economic slavery for the islands and point out that American capital is invested in many other countries without insistence on parity. As for rehabilitation funds, they could be obtained in the form of long-term loans at low rates of interest from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or from the International Monetary Fund, both of which were set up expressly to help needy nations.

The parity campaign, beginning early with the accompanying noisy fanfare of Filipino politics, has been

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47

marked by sharp and often violent exchanges between the opposing forces. The Liberal Party, taking no chances, has from the beginning utilized its big guns to bring the issue to the people. Campaign junkets headed by Roxas himself, by Elpidio Quirino, the Vice President and Foreign Secretary, and by Jose Zulueta, the Secretary of the Interior, have been touring the islands with a tremendous press and party machine build-up.

The anti-parity forces, which range from native capitalist groups fearful for their investments, to the armed Hukbalahap engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Roxas administration, have complained that the government is using force to keep them from being heard. On a recent trip to the southern islands, Nacionalista leaders Eulogio Rodriguez and Tomas Cabili were denied the right to hold public meetings on Mindanao and on Negros. Their filed protests asserted that intimidation and threats were used against them. They also reported that military police are intimidating voters on Cebu by conducting house-to-house canvasses on the parity question. The *Philippine Free Press* has branded such acts a disgrace and a shame to democracy and free speech.

Some of parity's early opponents have now switched to the government bandwagon, among them Jose P. Laurel, president of the Japanese puppet government, whose treason trial is still pending. Up to a few weeks ago Laurel was delivering inflammatory anti-American speeches. However, a significant straw vote on the parity issue is at present being conducted by the *Manila Post*. Up to January 22 the poll stood nearly 2-to-1 in opposition.

Even should the parity bill be defeated, the American Bell bill would still stand at the gates of the Philippine economy, to be implemented as the United States saw fit. American capital cannot be kept out of the islands in any case, but parity would strip Filipino economy of its constitutional protection against exploitation. Parity or no parity, the Filipino people are in for a tough time.

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